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THE HERACLIDAE

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EURIPIDES

# THE HERACLIDAE

Edited by

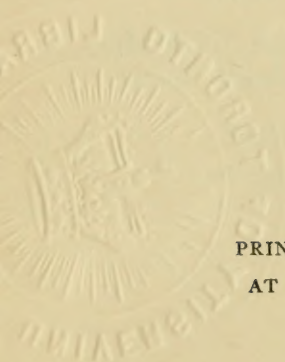
A. C. PEARSON, M.A.

Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge  
Formerly Assistant Master in Dulwich College

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## PREFACE.

THIS book has been written at the request of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, who were of opinion that the time had come for a new edition of the *Heraclidae*. The notes are intended for the benefit of students in the higher forms of schools, and at the Universities; and I have not scrupled—for fear of displeasing those who consider brevity the only function of an annotator—to give such information as will enable the reader to form his own judgment on the difficulties of the text. Notwithstanding the lucidity of his style, the interpretation of Euripides is far from being a simple matter.

In the critical portion of my task, I have had the advantage of using the recent editions of Wecklein and Murray. They represent entirely different schools of criticism, and I think it will be found that the present text approximates more closely to that of the Oxford editor. The clear judgment and abundant learning of Elmsley make his edition still the most valuable aid which exists for the general study of the play. To Paley, from long familiarity with his book, I owe much; the rest of

the commentators from Barnes onwards I have worked through with varying degrees of profit. But my chief obligation remains to be mentioned: it will be apparent from the Introduction and elsewhere how much I am indebted to the various writings of U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. If his conclusions do not always compel conviction, he never fails to stimulate thought.

At the same time, I desire to make it plain that this edition is based on an independent study of the text, although the results arrived at have been checked by the use of the existing authorities. Wherever I am conscious of having taken material from others, I have been careful to indicate its source.

A. C. P.

*12th February, 1907.*

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# INTRODUCTION.

## § 1. THE STORY.

IT will be convenient in the first place to summarise the story of the *Heraclidae* as it appears in Euripides, and afterwards to ascertain the extent of his indebtedness to earlier writers. Our defective knowledge of the sources recommends an inversion of the natural order of exposition.

After the death of Heracles the enmity of Eurystheus was still unsatisfied. Fearing the consequences to his own safety if the children were permitted to grow to manhood<sup>1</sup>, and seeking to compass their destruction, he took measures to have them put to death forthwith<sup>2</sup>. Warned in time, Iolaus, their father's trusty henchman, with the assistance of Alcmena, the aged mother of Heracles, contrived their escape from Argos<sup>3</sup>. Eurystheus was baffled for the moment; but his next step was to procure the passing of a decree of outlawry<sup>4</sup>, and to prevent the fugitives from taking refuge in any friendly town, by sending a herald to demand the surrender of his runaway slaves to their rightful owner. He expected to gain his end not so much by a reliance on international comity, as by threatening reminders of the power of Argos, and of his intention to use force if his demands were not granted. Thus, the children and their

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 1000 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 13.

<sup>3</sup> No account is given in the play of the circumstances of Heracles' death (914), but there are several indications, *e.g.* in *v.* 1008, that the children were then at Argos.

<sup>4</sup> This is implied in *v.* 186, unless we are to assume that the status of *ἀριστα* arose automatically from their avoidance of the death-penalty (142). It will be noticed that Euripides transfers to the heroic ages the constitutional law of his own times.

aged companions were driven hastily from town to town, until at the opening of the play we find Iolaus and the boys seated in suppliant attitude at the altar of Zeus Agoraios, outside the temple of the god<sup>1</sup>, within the district of the Marathonian tetrapolis<sup>2</sup>.

When the old man has explained the reason for their  
 Prologue: appeal to the god, Copreus the herald<sup>3</sup> is seen  
 1-72. approaching. In words of haughty insolence he commands them to leave the altar, and, when Iolaus protests, he thrusts him roughly aside and proceeds to drag off the suppliants by force.

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 657, 697.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 32, 70. The exact situation of the temple of Zeus is left purposely vague throughout the play, but there is quite enough to show that Athens is conceived as being in the immediate neighbourhood (Arg. l. 4, *v.* 69, etc.)—certainly not as distant more than twenty miles. The ἄστν of *v.* 401 must be Athens rather than Marathon, which is entirely ignored except in the prologue. Probably the only reason why the poet introduced Marathon was its legendary connexion with the children of Heracles. Firnhaber (*comment. de tempore quo Heracl. composuisse Eur. videatur*, Wiesbaden, 1846, p. 34) is not very successful in his attempt to reconcile the inconsistency by placing the scene *in media tetrapoli*. Vonhoff (*de lacunis, quae exstant in Eur. Heracl.*, Cottbus, 1872, p. 10) is inclined to follow Firnhaber, but with some hesitation. See also Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *de Eur. Heracl. comment.*, Greifswald, 1882, p. xiii, whose conclusion is rather different: cf. n. on *v.* 70.

<sup>3</sup> Murray, following Wilamowitz (*Anal. Eur.* p. 185), who thinks that the name was added by the Alexandrian grammarians, prints κῆρυξ for Κοπρεύς in the list of *dramatis personae*. Similar suggestions had already been made by Firnhaber, p. 38, and Vonhoff, p. 12. It is clear from a comparison of *v.* 52 sqq. with *Il.* xv 639 that Eur. had Copreus in his mind, whether or not the name technically belongs to the character. Hiller (*Hermes* VIII, p. 446) calls attention to a rule almost universal in Greek tragedy, that, when a fresh character comes on the stage, his name is announced to the spectators. He makes a good point in arguing that Eur. could not have assumed the name Copreus, which occurs only once in the *Iliad*, to be well-known to his audience.

Startled by the cries issuing from the sacred precinct, **Parodos:** the neighbours, a body of citizens well-advanced 73-119. in years<sup>1</sup>, who form the chorus, hurry to the rescue. After a brief scene of enquiry and expostulation, the herald is persuaded to refer his case to Demophon, the king of Athens, who presently appears on the stage accompanied by his brother Acamas.

Demophon enters and begins by expressing his surprise that any Greek should venture to lay a violent **First** hand upon suppliants. Hereupon a regular **Epeiso-** dion: **dion:** debate commences. Copreus, as the plaintiff, opens 120-352. his case by laying stress upon the supreme authority of a sovereign and independent community over the lives of its subjects; but by far the greater part of his speech is devoted to a comparison between the strength of Argos and the weakness of the Heraclidae, and an open threat that resistance to his demands means war. Iolaus replies by contesting the claims of Argos on those whom she has formally banished; and appeals to Demophon for protection upon general grounds of honour and religious obligation. But he also interposes a special plea in favour of the Heraclidae, on the score of their kinship and of the hereditary debt which Theseus had contracted in return for the services rendered to him by Heracles.

Demophon quickly decides in favour of the suppliants, and defies Copreus to do his worst. The herald leaves the stage with a threat that Eurystheus, who is waiting on the borders, will quickly arrive with an overwhelming force. Iolaus thanks Demophon for his assistance, but refuses to leave the altar so long as the struggle is undecided. Demophon departs to consult the assembly, and to make the necessary military arrangements. In his **First** absence, the Chorus sing a short ode breathing **Stasimon:** a spirit of defiance against Argos, and full of 353-380. confidence in the justice of their cause.

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 120.

Demophon returns wrapt in gloomy self-communing. At last, from his answer to the questions of Iolaus, it appears that the king, after making all ready for the approach of the foe, has been reduced to a painful dilemma ; for the seers have made it plain that all the oracles require, as an essential preliminary to success, the sacrifice to Persephone of a maiden of noble birth. But, even to save the suppliants, Demophon flatly refuses either to give up one of his own children or to lay any compulsion upon his citizens<sup>1</sup>. Thus the hopes of Iolaus are dashed to the ground in the very moment when they seemed close to realisation ; nevertheless he does not complain of Athens, nor is it his own sufferings which move him, but those of the children and of Alcmena. But at this point a sudden glimmer of renewed hope appears: why should not his own life be surrendered to the Argives? Perhaps this would satisfy them. Demophon thinks the suggestion useless, since it is the children whose death Eurystheus desires and whose future vengeance he dreads.

But a new development is at hand, by which the knot is to be loosed. Macaria<sup>2</sup>, one of the daughters of Heracles, who had hitherto remained with Alcmena inside the temple<sup>3</sup>, comes out to enquire what is the cause of Iolaus' renewed lamentations. When she is informed of the difficulty, she at once offers herself for the sacrifice. What other course, she asks, is left open—at least for those who are conscious of the obligations of their birth? If the city is taken and they fall into the hands of their enemies, death will come all the same, and in a disgraceful form. Or, if they leave

<sup>1</sup> The situation is stated but not developed, since there is no hesitation in Demophon's mind. The mental agony which Agamemnon endures in a similar crisis is one of the leading motives in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

<sup>2</sup> Her name does not occur in the text ; the question which results from this omission will be considered later.

<sup>3</sup> v. 42.



Athens, how can they hope for safety elsewhere? Or what future can she look forward to that does not bring shame with it? Better a glorious death than to cling to life merely for the sake of living. Iolaus suggests that the sisters should draw lots among themselves; but Macaria will not give her life except as a free offering, and only asks that in the ordeal of her fate she may be attended by her own sex. Demophon readily consents, and, after a farewell speech from Macaria, leads her away to meet her doom. Iolaus, overcome by the new misfortune, gives way to grief, and wrapping himself in his cloak sinks to the ground.

A short choral ode follows. Its theme is the instability of human fortune: neither wealth nor high estate  
**Second** of human fortune: neither wealth nor high estate  
**Stasimon:** but virtue alone is a sure stepping-stone to  
 608-629. lasting fame. Macaria's death will be worthy of  
 her father and her race.

A servant enters enquiring for Iolaus and Alcmena. To the old man he announces the arrival of Hyllus  
**Third** the old man he announces the arrival of Hyllus  
**Epeiso-** his master<sup>1</sup>; and, when Alcmena has been called  
**dion:** forth to share the good news, he explains that  
 630-747. the two armies are now drawn up ready for  
 action, and that Hyllus with a large contingent of allies has  
 been posted on the left wing of the Athenian force. Iolaus  
 declares that he will himself join in the fray. The attendant  
 scoffs at the idea that the old man will be of the slightest  
 use; and Alcmena remonstrates with him for proposing to  
 abandon the children and herself. In the end, however, a  
 suit of armour is brought out from the temple; and a curious  
 scene follows<sup>2</sup>, in which the old man is with difficulty armed,

<sup>1</sup> Hyllus and his brothers had been seeking for a fresh resting-place, in case the fugitives should be rejected by Athens (45).

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible not to feel that Euripides is glancing at the absurdity of the legendary rejuvenescence. This may have been a necessary element in the dramatic material which he had undertaken to represent; but there is no reason why the feebleness of Iolaus should have been made so prominent: perhaps, if the *Heraclidae*

and ultimately led forth, supported by the attendant, and lamenting the decay of his former vigour.

The Chorus call upon the gods to rally to the aid of the just cause. The patron-goddess Athena is chiefly addressed, and reminded of the piety of her worshippers.

A messenger<sup>1</sup> approaches with news of victory, and is received by Alcmena. He relates how Hyllus tried to avert the necessity for a general battle by challenging Eurystheus to single combat, and how his challenge was declined. Then, after describing the usual preliminaries to a battle, such as the sacrifices and the harangues on either side, the shock of the actual conflict, and the final rout of the Argives, he passes on to the miraculous deeds of Iolaus, which formed the climax of his story. Hyllus had taken the old man into his chariot, and together they pursued Eurystheus, now in full retreat. Then Iolaus prayed that a renewal of his youthful strength might be granted to him for one day. Two bright stars, said to be Heracles and Hebe, appeared upon the yoke, and the chariot was wrapped in a mysterious

of Aeschylus had survived, a further motive for this feature of the episode would have been discovered. It has often been pointed out that the poet does not venture to put the credulity of his audience to too severe a test by actually bringing the rejuvenated hero on to the stage. Cf. n. on *v.* 793.

<sup>1</sup> Rassow, in a Greifswald dissertation of 1885, lays down the rule that in Euripides a messenger only appears in one scene; and that, whenever there are two messengers in one play, they are different persons. Therefore the servant who enters at *v.* 928 is not the servant of Alcmena who appears at 784 and to whom the name ἄγγελος properly belongs; rather, he is identical with Ἰλλου πενέστης, who appears in the scene beginning at *v.* 630. I think that this is the best arrangement, but there has been much difference of opinion: Murray, for instance, holds that one and the same character appears in the three scenes. *vv.* 936—938 favour the identity of the speaker with the θεράπων of 630 sqq.

cloud. As this unrolled, Iolaus was seen in the full vigour of youthful beauty. Eurystheus was captured near Sciron's cliff and brought back in fetters to Athens. Alcmena's first thought on hearing the news is to rejoice at the manifestation of her son's divinity; the children will now be restored to their rights; only she fails to understand why Eurystheus' life was spared. The messenger explains that he has been brought back in order that she may enjoy the triumph of witnessing his humiliation, and departs asking to be given his freedom as a reward for his good tidings.

The Chorus sing a joyful ode in honour of their friends' triumph. Athens is justified of her wisdom; Heracles at length enjoys his heavenly portion; and the alliance is sealed by the downfall of oppression.

The servant of Hyllus, despatched by his master and Iolaus, re-enters with Eurystheus. Alcmena greets the captive with taunts, reminds him of his past acts of hostility, and declares that a single death is too mild a punishment for him. The attendant breaks in to say that Eurystheus must not die; and explains that the Athenians do not approve the putting to death of a prisoner taken in battle. Alcmena is bewildered, but determined not to forego her revenge: if no one else will kill him, she will do so with her own hands—

no matter how much odium the act may bring her. Then at length Eurystheus finds occasion to speak. He declines to plead for his life, but argues that he has had no choice, having been throughout the victim of destiny. Forced by Hera to take up the quarrel, he worked might and main to subdue his formidable antagonist. After the death of Heracles, how could he avoid the continuance of the blood-feud? No one in his place would have left the lion's whelps to grow to maturity. As matters stand, he is ready to accept his fate, but his death will bring a curse upon his murderers.

The Chorus attempt to intercede with Alcmena, who

scornfully suggests that she will accept a compromise ; after taking his life, she is willing to give up the body to his friends. Eurystheus, seeing her resolved, prophesies that his grave will be a protection to Athens in the time to come, when the Heraclidae, false to their allegiance, shall come to invade the land. 'Why delay to kill him,' retorts Alcmena, 'if his death will profit you thus?' The scene closes as he is led off to execution.

## § 2. THE SOURCES.

Such is the story of the play, and we pass on to examine the sources from which it is derived. Unfortunately, the materials are so fragmentary that a complete explanation cannot be given.

In the Homeric poems Heracles himself only appears incidentally ; and the legend of the Heraclidae, which stands as the traditional record of the Dorian invasion, and belongs to the borderland of myth and history, is entirely post-Homeric. Thus it is not surprising to find that our authorities go back rather to the chroniclers (λογογράφοι) for their information than to early Epic and Lyric poetry.

The first name to be mentioned is that of Aeschylus, who, like Euripides, wrote a play entitled *Heraclidae*. The remaining fragments (69—71 Dind.) furnish no indication of the plot ; yet, if we might adopt the plausible conjecture that the words quoted by Plutarch *de absurd. Stoic.* 2 p. 1057 F (fr. 374 Dind.) came from this play, it would follow that the restoration of Iolaus was described in it. If this could be established, the ironical tone which is prominent in the latter part of the third epeisodion would find a ready explanation.

Not later than Aeschylus is Hecataeus of Miletus, from whom pseudo-Longinus (*de sublim.* 27, 2) quotes part of a speech of Ceyx, the king of Trachis, refusing to give succour to the fugitives. More to the purpose is an extract from Pherecydes of Leros (c. B.C. 450), preserved by Antoninus

Liberalis, a mythographer belonging to the middle of the second century A.D.<sup>1</sup> This gives the story exactly as it appears in Euripides up to the point where the incident of Macaria is introduced; after that it diverges, and Eurystheus is slain in battle by Hyllus. From this time onwards the reception of the Heraclidae is quoted as a familiar incident in the Athenian tradition, and is often coupled with the story of the assistance given by Theseus to Adrastus, when he was asked to further the burial of the chieftains who had fallen before the gates of Thebes<sup>2</sup>. In this connexion it is put forward by the Athenian speaker in Herod. IX 27 amongst the claims of his countrymen to the post of honour at the battle of Plataea. Thucydides, in his abstract of early Greek history, alludes to the death of Eurystheus in Attica (I 9); and the orators freely quote the rescue of the suppliant Heraclids as one of the glorious achievements of their ancestors ([Lys.] 2. 11—15, [Dem.] 60. 8, Isocr. 4. 54—60, 5. 34).

As might be expected in a familiar legend charged with local associations, we meet with considerable variety in detail. Thus, whereas Pherecydes says nothing of the place or circumstances of the battle, Apollodorus, who wrote about 140 B.C., supplies (*bibl.* II 8, 1) the following particulars:—(1) the Heraclids took refuge at the altar of Eleos<sup>3</sup>; (2) Eurystheus was slain by Hyllus, when fleeing in

<sup>1</sup> c. 33 (Westermann, *Mythogr.* p. 230, 28). Wilamowitz (*comment.* p. xiii) maintains that Pherecydes is only responsible for the marriage of Alcmena and Rhadamanthys, and that the story of the Heraclidae is derived from some mythographer who depends on Euripides. But the account differs from Euripides in important particulars, and cannot be taken from him.

<sup>2</sup> Euripides used this story as the plot of the *Supplices*.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodorus is the source of this statement, which appears also in Schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 115 and Zenob. II 61 Schn. See Wilamowitz, *u. s.* pp. v, vi. For the altar of Mercy see Pausanias I 17, 1 (Frazer, vol. II, p. 143). Eur. followed the Marathonian tradition and was therefore unable to introduce it. For the altar of Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος see on *v.* 70.

his chariot, just as he was passing the Scironian rocks ; (3) his head was cut off and given to Alcmena, who gouged out his eyes with κερκίδες. Strabo (VIII, p. 377) apparently makes Marathon the site of the battle, and states in addition that Iolaus cut off the head of Eurystheus near the fountain Macaria close to the waggon-road, and that the place is known as Eurystheus' Head. He adds that the body was buried at Gargettus, but the head at Tricorythus. In Pausan. I 32, 6 it is Theseus and not Demophon who refuses to surrender the suppliants. In Pausan. I 44, 10 we find, as in Strabo, that Eurystheus was killed by Iolaus—not by Hyllus—but his tomb is placed in the neighbourhood of the Scironian rocks. The account in Diod. IV 57, p. 181 is more elaborate. After leaving Ceyx and being refused admission in several communities, the Heraclids were allowed by the Athenians to settle in Tricorythus, one of the cities of the Marathonian tetrapolis. Several years later Eurystheus attacked them, but was defeated by the combined forces of Theseus and Hyllus. In the flight after the battle the chariot of Eurystheus broke down, and he was overtaken and slain by Hyllus.

Enough has been said to show that the main features of the plot depend upon a widespread tradition, and are in no sense the invention of Euripides. Ultimately derived from the memories and lips of long past generations, and with continual accretions due to local or personal influence, they passed through the medium of chroniclers and guide-book makers—especially writers of Attides—into the pages of the later mythographers. But for certain particulars Euripides has been thought to be more directly responsible, and these will require examination in detail. They are (1) the sacrifice of Macaria ; (2) the miraculous restoration of Iolaus ; and (3) the capture, death, and burial of Eurystheus.

1. The most important witness to the story of Macaria, if we leave Euripides out of the question, is Pausanias, who relates (I 32, 6) as follows:—‘ In Marathon there is a spring

called Macaria, of which they tell the following tale. When Hercules fled from Tiryns to escape Eurystheus, he went to reside with his friend Ceyx, king of Trachis. But when Hercules had departed this life, and Eurystheus demanded that the hero's children should be given up, the king of Trachis sent them to Athens, pleading his own weakness and the power of Theseus to protect them. But when they were come as suppliants to Athens they were the occasion of the first war that the Peloponnesians waged on the Athenians; for Theseus would not surrender them at the demand of Eurystheus. It is said that an oracle declared to the Athenians that one of the children of Hercules must die a voluntary death, since otherwise they could not be victorious. Then Macaria, daughter of Hercules and Dejanira, slew herself, and thereby gave to the Athenians victory and to the spring her name<sup>1</sup>. Now it is noteworthy that this account cannot be derived entirely from Euripides; for Theseus is introduced in place of Demophon, and Macaria is not sacrificed but dies by her own hand. It seems reasonable to conclude that Pausanias is indebted—directly or indirectly—to a local legend attaching to the spring Macaria. Further, it is not improbable that the legend existed in the time of Euripides, and was adapted by him in such manner as we have seen.

But the trustworthiness of the record has been impugned by Wilamowitz, whose conclusions may be stated thus:—(1) that Euripides gave no name to the daughter whose sacrifice he records<sup>2</sup>, and that this did not cause inconvenience subsequently, because Heracles was believed to

<sup>1</sup> Frazer's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Elmsley (on *v.* 475) was the first to notice that the name of Macaria does not occur in the text, and concluded that it was introduced by the grammarians into the list of *dramatis personae*. Hiller in *Hermes* VIII, p. 446 thinks that some lines have been lost before *v.* 474. So also Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* XXIII, p. 157.

have been the father of one daughter only<sup>1</sup>; (2) that long after the time of Euripides the spring Macaria became famous, and its name was transferred to the heroine in popular story; (3) that one of the later Atthidographers preserved the report, which was thus passed on to Pausanias and the grammarians; (4) that Euripides invented the story of the sacrifice for dramatic purposes equally with the incident of Menoeceus in the *Phoenissae*.

Apart altogether from the question of *a priori* probability, the basis of fact upon which these conclusions are built up is very slight. Pausanias, it is said, cannot be a direct witness of what he relates, since by placing the spring at Marathon rather than at Tricorythus he shows entire ignorance of the locality. But, however much weight be allowed to this error, which after all may be merely the result of carelessness in expression, it should not be used to discredit the genuineness of the story as a whole. Now, either the daughter of Heracles and the spring of Tricorythus were originally connected, or the maiden sacrificed and the nymph of the spring were entirely distinct in the time of Euripides. Wilamowitz argues that the latter alternative must be accepted on the authority of the Scholiast on Ar. *Plut.* 385, who mentions a painting of Apollodorus (c. 408 B.C.) in which were οἱ Ἑρακλεΐδαι καὶ Ἀλκμήνη καὶ Ἑρακλέους θυγάτηρ Ἀθηναίους ἰκετεύοντες, Εὐρυσθέα δεδιότες: in other words, at the end of the fifth century the daughter of Heracles was not named Macaria. Further, the absence of any allusion to Macaria in the greater number of the authorities which record the fortunes of the Heraclidae in Attica favours the conclusion that her sacrifice was invented by Euripides. The reader must judge whether the cogency of these arguments is such as to outweigh the probability that the passage of Pausanias points to the existence of a local legend which Euripides adapted.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *hist. an.* VII 6, 45. Of course, Euripides recognises several daughters (544).



No further information can be derived from the other passages where Macaria is mentioned. Plutarch in the life of Pelopidas (c. 21) includes her among the victims of human sacrifice. There is also a series of parallel extracts evidently going back to a common source, believed to be Didymus, which briefly relate her story for the purpose of explaining the phrase *βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν*<sup>1</sup>.

2. The prayer of Iolaus for the renewal of his youthful strength and its miraculous fulfilment were taken by Euripides from the Theban cycle of legend. At least, so we may infer from Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 80 *ἔγνον ποτὲ καὶ Ἰόλαον οὐκ ἀτιμάσαντά νιν (scil. καιρόν) ἐπτάπυλοι Θῆβαι τόν, Εὐρυσθέος ἐπεὶ κεφαλὰν ἔπραθε φασγάνου ἀκμᾶ, κρύψαν ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γᾶν διφρηλάτα Ἀμφιτρύωνος σάματι.* This poem belongs to B.C. 478, and is therefore the earliest allusion to the death of Eurystheus in existing literature. The Scholia are more explicit, and recognise two versions of the occurrence to which Pindar refers. According to one of these, Iolaus after death learnt that Eurystheus was requiring from the Athenians the surrender of the Heraclidae, and threatening war in case of their refusal; consequently he prayed that he might come to life again, and, when his prayer had been granted, he killed Eurystheus and died again. The other story, which is described as being more credible<sup>2</sup>, was to

<sup>1</sup> Schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 1151, Schol. on Plat. *Hipp. ma.* 293 A, Zenob. 1161 etc. For the details the reader is referred to Wilamowitz, *u. s.* pp. iv—vii.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πιθανώτερον ἔλκουσι τὴν ἱστορίαν ὅτι γέρων ὦν ἠΰξατο ἀνηβῆσαι καὶ τελέσας τὸν ἄθλον εὐθέως ἐτελεύτα. Ovid, *met.* 1X 397 mentions the transformation, and as is his wont takes the opportunity to draw a fanciful picture:—

*nam limine constitit alto  
paene puer dubiaque tegens lanugine malas  
ora reformatus primos Iolaus in annos.*

But he knows nothing of a crisis adequate for the occasion; Eurystheus and the danger of the Heraclidae are ignored.

the effect that Iolaus in his old age prayed for the restoration of his youth, and after accomplishing his task died forthwith. This is the version which best explains Pindar's words *ὄκ ἀτιμάσαντα καιρόν*: Iolaus was allowed only a short space of time, and he made the most of it. So in Euripides<sup>1</sup> he prays for a single day's youth, which is enough for the matter in hand; but of his subsequent fate we hear nothing.

3. None of the authorities whom we have hitherto quoted mention that Eurystheus was taken alive; but there is a suggestion of the surrender to Alcmena and of her cruelty in Apollodorus, from whose ultimate source Euripides may have worked up his repulsive portrait. It is almost certain that the dramatist invented this part of the plot himself with the purpose of glorifying Athens; and this conclusion is if anything confirmed by the only other passage which records the same issue—Isocr. 4. 59 *Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ βιάσασθαι προσδοκήσας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος ἰκέτης ἠναγκάσθη καταστήναι καὶ... ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου (sc. Ἡρακλέους) γενόμενος ἐπονειδίστως τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν*. The resemblance to Euripides both in letter and spirit is so close that the later account can hardly have been written without the impulse supplied by a recollection of the play.

When Eurystheus is made to enjoin his own burial in front of the temple of Athena at Pallene<sup>2</sup>, there can be no doubt that Euripides is following the local tradition which claimed his grave. The inference is confirmed by Strabo's statement of his burial at Gargettus, and Euripides, who came from Phlya, was well acquainted with the district. Thus the Attic legend is vindicated against the rival version, which placed the tomb at Mt Gerania near the 'Evil Staircase,' while at the same time a concession is made by admitting that Gerania was the scene of the capture<sup>3</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> v. 851.

<sup>2</sup> See nn. on 849, 1030.

<sup>3</sup> v. 860: for the rival legend see *supra* p. xviii.

peculiar significance of the prophecy made respecting the tomb will be considered when we come to examine the date of the play.

### § 3. DRAMATIC SCOPE AND PURPOSE.

The first question that we ought to ask ourselves after studying a play or a poem or indeed any work of art is—What is its leading purpose? What is the unity which the artist is trying to express to us through his creation? It is this which, in relation to the drama, has since Aristotle's time been known as the Unity of Plot. Plot, as he held, is more important than any of the other elements which go to make up a tragedy, more important even than the element of character: plot, in fact, may be called the soul of a tragedy<sup>1</sup>. And the reason is that tragedy is an imitation of the action of living agents; it represents progress and movement passing from a definite beginning to a definite end.

Let us endeavour to apply this to the *Heraclidae*. To a careless reader it might appear that the climax of the action is reached in the death of Macaria, and that the sequel which describes the defeat and death of Eurystheus is of independent and inferior interest. But in reality the action of the play is centred round Eurystheus; or, to use what is becoming a cant term of criticism, his fortune is the pivot on which that of the other characters turns. More than once Euripides reminds us of an adage which might serve as a motto for the play:—

ἀλλὰ τῶν φρονημάτων

ὁ Ζεὺς κολαστὴς τῶν ἄγαν ὑπερφρόνων<sup>2</sup>.

Even more exactly he might seem to be summarising the action of the *Heraclidae* in *Andr.* 1007 f. :—

ἐχθρῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μοῖραν εἰς ἀναστροφὴν

δαίμων δίδωσι κοῦκ ἑᾶ φρονεῖν μέγα.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *poet.* 6, 14. 1450 a 39.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 387: cf. 865, 925.

At the opening of the play the Argive power is supreme: Iolaus and his charges are fleeing for their lives, and the protection of Athens is far from being either certain or decisive. But the persecution of Eurystheus works to his own undoing; and in the last scene we have a complete reversal of fortune, when Alcmena orders the humiliated monarch to be led off to death.

In this aspect of the plot there is one point which deserves particular notice; we see how the action of Eurystheus, which aims directly at his own security<sup>1</sup>, produces an effect which is precisely the contrary of his intention, leading through stages unforeseen but inevitable to his own ruin. The helpless victims become themselves the potent agents of destruction. Only the self-sacrificing devotion of Macaria makes Athenian victory possible; only by the miraculously renewed powers of Iolaus is victory consummated in capture; only the implacable resentment of Alcmena makes release impossible. Thus it will be seen that each separate scene helps towards the final issue, and even the arming of Iolaus is essential to the climax; for, if Eurystheus had not been the prisoner of the Heraclids, Alcmena would not have been able to use the power of life or death. The irony of events which we have briefly sketched is such as appealed irresistibly to the Greek imagination. A perfect tragedy, in Aristotle's judgment<sup>2</sup>, ought to be complicated rather than simple in arrangement; and one species of complicated action was that which contained *περιπέτεια*<sup>3</sup>. Then he defines *περιπέτεια* as 'a change by which a train of action produces the opposite of the effect intended'; and immediately afterwards he quotes an illustration which nearly coincides with the main outlines of the *Heraclidae*:—'Again, in the *Lynceus*, Lynceus is being led out to die, and Danaus goes with him, meaning to

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 470, 1005 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *poet.* c. 13, 2. 1452 b 30.

<sup>3</sup> c. 10, 2. 1452 a 15.

slay him; but the outcome of the action is, that Danaus is killed and Lynceus saved<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the framework of the play is set accurately in compliance with the canons of Greek Art, as afterwards formulated. The plot belongs to the type of perfect tragedy. And yet, when we lay down the *Heraclidae*, we do not feel that we have parted with a great play, as we do unquestionably after reading the *Agamemnon* or the *Oedipus* or the *Medea*. Why is it that so competent a critic as von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff can say of our play that it is 'the most insignificant piece of Euripides that we possess'? We must ascribe a large measure<sup>2</sup> of the blame to the characters. Some, and especially Macaria, excite interest and even move deeply; but the spell is transient. There is no hero whose varying fortunes we can follow breathless and enthralled. Certainly Eurystheus himself is none such: we do not see him till the last scene, where he displays little more than a cold dignity of demeanour; and, whenever he is referred to in the earlier part of the play, it is in such fashion as to provoke our repugnance. Even if his bearing in the final conflict with Alcmena tends to arouse some sympathy with his fate, this only extends so far as to mark a slight reaction from the aversion towards him which it is the general purpose of the action to excite. It may be then, once more to quote from Aristotle<sup>3</sup>, that his downfall satisfies the moral sense, but it does not inspire either pity or fear, which are the emotions appropriate to tragedy.

It must, then, be confessed that the *Heraclidae* is wanting in the highest type of dramatic interest; it is skilfully constructed but lacks depth—almost we might say vitality; it

<sup>1</sup> c. II, 1. 1452 a 22—29 (Butcher's translation). The true meaning of περιπέτεια was explained and illustrated by W. Lock in *C. R.* IX, p. 251 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to estimate how far mutilation has obscured the significance of the drama: see § 5.

<sup>3</sup> c. 13, 2. 1453 a 2.

fails to probe humanity to the core. This is not to deny that it contains scenes of considerable dramatic force: indeed it would be strange if the great master of pathos had failed to remind us of his cunning. The appeal of Iolaus to Demophon and the crisis which calls for the intervention of Macaria are utilised with power and effect; but they stir us rather as separate incidents than as contributing to the development of a harmonious whole. In fact, if we study the play carefully, it will, I think, appear that what chiefly interested Euripides was not so much the unity of the dramatic framework, as the inner lesson which the story seemed to him to convey. He does not, like Aeschylus, ponder over the religious mystery concealed beneath the workings of destiny; indeed, his references to the toils of fate are almost conventional in tone. But one of the charms which a modern reader derives from his work is the suggestion of an indirect significance. The poet seems to point beyond the immediate range of his characters to a truth which the quick-sighted may apprehend; the story of Argive insolence and Heraclid victory is not meant to serve merely as one more illustration of the adage that 'pride goeth before a fall.' Rather, if we may anticipate what requires to be justified in detail, it is the purpose of the poet to exhibit the moral enlightenment of his age by presenting it in a concrete form as embodied in the national traditions of Athenian character. It is an obvious criticism on the play to call attention to the patriotic fervour with which it is inspired<sup>1</sup>. Again and again in the earlier scenes we are reminded of Athenian liberty<sup>2</sup>, which carries with it the right of free speech<sup>3</sup>. It is in virtue of their freedom that the citizens of Athens are ready to help the oppressed<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, p. 292; Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 62, 113, 198, 287.      <sup>3</sup> *v.* 182.

<sup>4</sup> *v.* 243 sqq.

Unlike other Hellenic states, whose nobler instincts are crushed beneath the yoke of tyranny, the law of might is not by them allowed to take the place of the law of right. Weakness, if its claims are those of justice, has never appealed in vain for the protection of Athens<sup>1</sup>: reluctant to take up arms, yet she will not shrink before an unjust tyrant<sup>2</sup>. This sense of justice springs from a conspicuous devotion to religion<sup>3</sup>, but her piety is never dominated by superstition: the honest and courageous Demophon, who represents the liberal spirit of Athens, is no fanatic to sacrifice his own or his fellow's child to the demands of the seers<sup>4</sup>. Informed with such principles of conduct, Athens is typically opposed to the arrogance of Argos, which relies on strength alone in order to enforce a technical claim upon the lives of the unhappy exiles. Once again, in the latter part of the play, we find Athens championing the cause of the higher morality which was gradually spreading over the Hellenic world<sup>5</sup>. It is well that in this matter we should cherish no illusions—that we should not confound the ideals of the poet with those of the public; for, though it is true that the Plataeans, when pleading for their lives, appeal to the Spartans for recognition of an established custom<sup>6</sup>, yet there are sufficient instances to show that this was an aspiration rather than a fact; that performance fell far short of profession; and that, whatever

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 177, 330.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 371 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *vv.* 107, 763, 777 sq., 901 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *v.* 410 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *vv.* 966, 1012: see Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr. II, pp. 23—27.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc. III 58. Musgrave refers to the speech of Nicolaus in Diod. Sic. XIII 20 ff. There is a good deal of moralising in this strain:—*τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παραδόντας ἑαυτοῦς, καὶ τῆ τῶν κρατούντων εὐγνωμοσύνη πιστεύσαντας, ἀπαραιτήτου τιμωρίας ἠξίωσεν*; But the whole has the air of a rhetorical exercise, and is of very little value as evidence of contemporary Greek feeling. Similarly, the rhetorician Sopater (*c.* 500 A.D.) claims for the Athenians, *τὸ τοῖς πρότερον ἠδικηκόσι κειμένοις ὕστερον μὴ ἐπεμβαίνειν* as well as *τὸ συμμαχεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσι* (Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* IV 756).

may have been the view of certain Athenian circles, cruelty to a defenceless enemy did not meet with universal reprobation<sup>1</sup>. Here, as always, Euripides takes for granted the sympathy of his audience with an enlightened humanity; but there must have been many present who thought that Alcmena was somewhat unreasonably thwarted; the plain man, who looked back fondly to the memories of the *Μαραθωνομάχαι*, could see little sense in disregarding the maxim which taught him to hate his enemies<sup>2</sup>. Mytilene, Scione and Melos are examples which we cannot disregard: if such outrages were possible as the result of a deliberate state policy, what was the attitude of the average citizen? Unless we bear this constantly in mind, we are in danger of misconceiving the moral import of the play; many of those who cheered Cleon in the assembly might have seen themselves in the pillory with Alcmena.

In the *Supplices* we have a companion picture<sup>3</sup>, where the respect due to the dead body of an enemy takes the place of the generosity to be shown to the living<sup>4</sup>. Yet this 'universal' principle was violated by the Thebans after the battle of Delium; and in our play Alcmena's outburst is typical when she repudiates any such obligation<sup>5</sup>. Thus Euripides makes himself the apostle of the new morality, and is fain to utilise the patriotism of his audience by showing that the character of Athens had never changed. Always had she been a type of *σωφροσύνη*, that virtue so peculiarly Greek that we have no name for it in English, that health of the soul which has recently been defined as

<sup>1</sup> Such incidents as those recorded in Thuc. II 67, 4, III 32, 2 are highly significant.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 882 n.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ δρᾶμα ἐγκώμιον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (Argument).

<sup>4</sup> *Suppl.* 526.

<sup>5</sup> *v.* 1050 n. It is characteristic of traditional Greek sentiment that Sophocles represents Creon and Menelaus (*Ant.* 284 ff., *Ai.* 1132) as arguing that it is wrong to permit the burial of an enemy.



'the subjugation of exuberant force to the normal measure, to a standard determined mainly by the interests of society as a whole<sup>1</sup>.'

The most interesting of the characters are Macaria and Alcmena; and the success of Euripides in his delineation of the female sex is notorious. 'The significant fact is,' writes a sympathetic critic, 'that Euripides refuses to idealise any man and does idealise woman<sup>2</sup>.' Here in both cases we have little more than a rough sketch; the outlines were filled in a few years later, when Euripides presented the portraits of Polyxena and Hecuba<sup>3</sup>. Macaria is one of a gallery of devoted women who die to save others; to the same group, besides Polyxena, belong Iphigenia and Alcestis. In the absolute freedom of her self-sacrifice she stands nearest to Alcestis; she refuses to take advantage of the chance of escape which the lot would have given her, because she will not be compelled to die. She is entirely without hesitation, apart from some physical repulsion at the thought of contact with death<sup>4</sup>; she is clearly convinced that her death is a logical necessity of their condition; since there is no hope either for herself or for the rest, she will die to save them. But the mainspring of her action is not so much self-sacrifice, as the imperative need of responding to the claims which imposed a high rôle upon the daughter of Heracles<sup>5</sup>.

To some extent the character of Alcmena is a puzzle; and it is highly probable, as we shall see, that the mutilation of the play has effaced what might otherwise have given us a clue to her development. Even in the first scene where she appears (646—719) we are not left without indications of that fierceness which is so strongly marked in the sequel. She starts with a threat of forcible resistance, if the attendant should prove to be an emissary of Eurystheus; she

<sup>1</sup> Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr. II, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Murray, *Greek Lit.* p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> The *Hecuba* is thought to belong to the year 425 or 424.

<sup>4</sup> v. 560.

<sup>5</sup> v. 527 n.

complains of the neglect of Hyllus in not visiting her in person—a characteristic touch; she rebukes Iolaus for leaving her unprotected; and, without venturing to blaspheme, she mistrusts the dealings of Zeus. But in the *Exodos* there is nothing to relieve the repulsiveness of her cruelty. She then becomes the embodiment of the *lex talionis*; she is like Shylock with his scales demanding his pound of flesh; to the plea that no one will kill Eurystheus in cold blood she replies that she will do so herself sooner than let him escape, and that she cares nothing for what others may think of her. From this resolution she never flinches for a moment<sup>1</sup>, and it seems that she gains her point; but the conclusion of the scene is so abrupt that there are good grounds for suspecting a lacuna. In the later character of Hecuba we may read a commentary on the earlier picture. Suffering has distorted her reason; all her energies, concentrated in a single channel, seek revenge; to compass this she disregards the claims of humanity and is indeed hardly aware of their existence.

#### § 4. THE DATE.

The date of the production cannot be exactly determined, but there are good reasons for fixing it within narrow limits<sup>2</sup>.

If *Ar. Vesph.* 1160 ἐχθροῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς δυσμενῆ καττύματα is a parody of *Heracl.* 1006, our play is at least as early as B.C. 423. But on *Eg.* 214 τάραττε καὶ χόρδεν' ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα the Scholiast states that the line is parodied from the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides. No such line occurs in the play as we have it<sup>3</sup>, but this is not a conclusive reason, as

<sup>1</sup> See nn. on 1022, 1050.

<sup>2</sup> These are cogently stated by Wilamowitz, *Anal. Eur.* p. 152. But Pflugk should receive the credit of having been the first to contend for the true date (praef. p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> There is no probability in Firnhaber's view that *v.* 109 is referred to.

will presently be shown, for refusing credit to the explicit statement of the Scholiast. It is quite possible that the original line belonged to the Parodos, where it is certain that the text has been mutilated. The *Equites* was produced early in 424.

The fact that the leading incident of the play resulted in a war between Athens and Argos has induced some of the editors<sup>1</sup> to seek for a period in the course of the Peloponnesian War when the relations of these two states were embittered. But such an enquiry leads to nothing, and is altogether mistaken, since it ignores the concluding scene. Here Eurystheus is made to prophesy that after his death his tomb in the neighbourhood of the temple at Pallene will be a source of unexpected benefit to the Athenians, and that as a sojourner beneath their soil he will protect them against an invasion by the descendants of the Heraclidae. The origin of such a prophecy may be assumed to be subsequent to its apparent fulfilment; and the reference is doubtless to the Spartan raids at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. We know from Thucydides how deeply popular indignation was excited by the havoc wrought. The first invasions were in 431, 430, 428, 427 and 425: there was an intermission in 429 and in 426 owing to the outbreak and recrudescence of the plague. In 431 Archidamus advanced as far as Acharnae, but retired without extending his ravages to the south or east of Athens. In 430 the damage done was much more general, reaching as far as Laurium and along both sides of the sea coast (Thuc. II 55). But Diodorus (XII 45) records that a remarkable exception was made to the wholesale devastation in the case of the Marathonian tetrapolis, and the reason which he gives is significant. 'From this district they refrained, because it had formerly welcomed their ancestors, who advanced from here when they defeated

<sup>1</sup> This view is derived ultimately from Aug. Boeckh (*de trag. Gr.* p. 190), who pronounced in favour of B.C. 418, quoting Thuc. v 76.

Eurystheus. For they thought it right that those who had benefited their forefathers should receive fitting recognition from themselves.' We have no reason to disbelieve this account, which is corroborated by the authority of Istros of Cyrene, a writer of an Ἰστρούς Ἰστρούς in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes<sup>1</sup>; the statement of Thucydides (II 57) that in this year the Peloponnesians ravaged all the land is controlled by his subsequent narrative of the invasion of 427 (III 26):—  
 ἔδηψαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ τε πρότερον τετμημένα [καὶ] εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο· καὶ ἡ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη χालεπωτάτη ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν.

From these facts Wilamowitz concludes that the *Heraclidae* must have been produced within the years 430—427; and, in estimating the probabilities as between these years, we may add that it is more likely to have been written at a time when the impression of the invasion was still fresh in the minds both of those who had suffered from it and of those who had escaped.

The same scholar conjectured, in reliance on a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>2</sup>, that the *Heraclidae* was the first play of a trilogy consisting of three tragedies not immediately connected in subject but belonging to a single legendary cycle, and that the other plays were the *Cresphontes* and the *Temenus*. The *Cresphontes* contained the celebrated scene in which the mother's hand was arrested in the act of slaying her unrecognised son, but of the *Temenus* nothing is known.

On general grounds there can be no doubt that the *Heraclidae* is an early work, and the date to which we have

<sup>1</sup> Schol. on Soph. *O. C.* 701. Sophocles is himself an authority for the sparing of the *μοῖραι* by the Peloponnesian invaders.

<sup>2</sup> xxviii 4. 27, discussed in *Hermes* xi 302. The passage is a remarkable one, and it is strange that such a writer should have preserved for us a fragment of the *διδασκαλῖαι*, if that is indeed the case.

been led by the above considerations agrees exactly with the result of an examination of the metre. Our play shows a very small percentage of trisyllabic feet in the senarii, and in this respect only the *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, and *Rhesus* come below it<sup>1</sup>.

### § 5. LACUNAE IN THE TEXT.

There will be found in Appendix A five separate citations of the *Heraclidae* which cannot be traced in our text. These are not all of equal importance, and we must not overlook the possibility of error. But, if anyone will examine the other cases among the fragments of Euripides in which quotations appear to have been wrongly ascribed, he will find that an undue proportion of error—if error is indeed the cause—attaches to the *Heraclidae*. We must therefore consider the alternative; that the parts of the play in which these passages occurred have been lost. Such a loss would not be in itself surprising, and we have at least one parallel case where an untraceable quotation belongs to a gap in the existing text<sup>2</sup>.

That a considerable portion of the play has perished seems first to have been suggested by Hermann, whose MS. note is quoted by Matthiae on *v.* 1048 (1053):—‘*Fabulae extrema pars videtur intercidisse, in qua fieri non poterat quin de Macaria referretur, eaque res solitis celebraretur lamentis.*’ Subsequently Kirchhoff called attention to another piece of external evidence. The Argument in a tantalising manner breaks off exactly where we should have welcomed its continuation, but the words *ταύτην μὲν οὖν εὐγενῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐτίμησαν* used of Macaria correspond to nothing which exists in our texts, and their importance is confirmed by Schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 1151 *κατέσφαξεν ἑαυτήν* (*sc. ἡ*

<sup>1</sup> See A. Church in *C. R.* XIV 438.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bacchae*: see the comm. on *v.* 1330.

Μακαρία), ὡς ἐν Ἑρακλείδαις Εὐριπίδης. ἧς τὸν τάφον ἀνθεσι καὶ στεφάνοις τιμῶντες κ.τ.λ.<sup>1</sup> He concludes that there have been lost after *v.* 629 a speech of a messenger or of Demophon announcing the death of Macaria, a κομμός of Alcmena, and an entire choral ode. Rassow thinks that the announcement must have been made by Demophon, on the ground that two messengers do not appear in any play which is earlier than B.C. 415<sup>2</sup>.

Now, entirely apart from the value to be attached to the external evidence, hardly any reader of the play can fail to notice a serious defect in its internal structure. After our emotions have been raised to the highest pitch by the noble self-sacrifice of Macaria, she disappears from the stage and we hear not a word further concerning her. Whatever may be the interest of the concluding scenes, they do not compensate for the wrench by which we are forced at *v.* 630 to pass from the contemplation of her heroic devotion to the return of Hyllus and the somewhat trivial and almost comic interlude describing the departure of Iolaus. So far as this concerns the unity of the plot, we have dealt with it in a previous section; but that the death of Macaria, one of his most pathetic figures, should be entirely ignored by Euripides is amazing, if not shocking. For that *vv.* 819—822, even if they refer to human sacrifice at all<sup>3</sup>, are intended to satisfy the spectator that Macaria's death had been carried out in accordance with the requirements of the oracle, we absolutely refuse to believe. In any case they ignore the promise of *v.* 567 sqq., and oblivion or carelessness on the

<sup>1</sup> See *supr.* p. xxi and n. 1. It is significant that the description of the honours paid to Macaria's tomb recalls the companion picture of Polyxena's sacrifice: *Hec.* 573 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Vonhoff (p. 24) is of the same opinion, but for different reasons. He also lays stress on the fact which has often been noticed, that, with the exception of the *Rhesus* and *Cyclops*, this play is the shortest of those which are attributed to Euripides.

<sup>3</sup> See note *in loc.*

part either of Euripides or of Demophon is in this respect unthinkable. It is true that Wecklein<sup>1</sup> supports the adequacy of the text by appealing to *Phoen.* 1090—1092, where the sacrifice of Menoeceus is described in three lines. But it is misleading not to quote at the same time the speech of Iocasta at *v.* 1204 sqq., and the scene which opens at *v.* 1310 with the lamentation of Creon for his son's death. The suggested parallel only serves to emphasise the defectiveness of the *Heracidae*, and, even if *Phoen.* 1090 sqq. stood alone, it would be fair to remember that they are not open to charges either of ambiguity or of inconsistency.

Another point, which has already been mentioned<sup>2</sup>, may be more shortly dealt with; there is no preparation in the first part of the play for the later development of Alcmena's character. We are left to guess that her moral fibre had been strained to its utmost capacity of endurance by the persecutions of Eurystheus, and that she had finally given way before the crowning blow of Macaria's death. For, though we have seen that signs of passion are skilfully indicated when she first appears, we are left completely in the dark as to the motive of her violent and somewhat reckless demeanour<sup>3</sup>.

A more elaborate hypothesis has been put forward by Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup>, who considers that Kirchhoff's solution is insufficient to explain the data for the following reasons:—(1) it is very improbable that the accidental dropping out of a leaf or leaves should have coincided so accurately with the divisions of the play that the last words before the gap and the last words of the lost passage were both the ending of a choral ode; (2) at *v.* 604 Iolau is left in a recumbent posture with his head buried in his cloak:

<sup>1</sup> n. on *v.* 822 (Bauer-Wecklein edition). I have not been able to consult his article in *Blätter für das bayr. Gymn.* xxii, p. 19 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *supr.* p. xxix.

<sup>3</sup> *v.* 646 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Hermes* xvii, p. 337 ff.

he is found in the same position at *v.* 633 : is it likely that he remained unmoved during two choral odes and the scenes which intervened between them? (3) *vv.* 673 and 819 refer to some extraordinary *human* sacrifice, and must be intended as a reference to Macaria : yet how could the Athenians have gone out into the field and Hyllus have made his challenge before the necessary preliminaries involved in her sacrifice had taken place<sup>1</sup>? Wilamowitz concludes that not only has the play been mutilated, but also that it has been reconstructed with the object of concealing the gaps left in the work after certain parts of Euripides' play had been removed. To this redactor belong *vv.* 819—822, 672 sq., and a substantial part of *vv.* 630—660, not to speak of earlier passages which will be dealt with in their proper place. If the question suggests itself why anyone should busy himself with such work, he replies that the redaction was made for practical purposes by a stage manager to suit his troupe ; and that this is indicated by the cutting down of the choral odes, which do not cover more than 150 lines in the play as we have it. Such a stage version would most naturally belong to the period 380—330 B.C.

This ingenious theory, to which it is not easy to do justice within the limits of a brief summary, is not without its own difficulties. One of these has been indicated by Wecklein<sup>2</sup>. Wilamowitz accounts for the preservation of a stage copy by pointing out that our MSS. of this play represent a popular or booksellers' edition with the plays copied in alphabetical order, and are not indebted to the erudition of the grammarians. In this way he is able to explain the non-recognition of our text by the anthologists<sup>3</sup>. What then are we to make of the presence of the Arguments?

<sup>1</sup> Vonhoff (p. 23) argues with considerable force to the same effect, and infers, rightly as I think, that 821 sq. refer 'ad solemne victimarum sacrificium ante pugnam factum.'

<sup>2</sup> Bursian's *Jahresbericht* 30, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A.



He is obliged to fall back on the suggestion that these were subsequently added; but the necessity for such a shift tends to weaken the probability of his theory. Further there are certain considerations which must be weighed against the arguments briefly summarised above. For (1) it is not necessary to suppose that the loss after *v.* 629 was due to the accidental dropping out of a leaf from a codex: there are other possibilities, which include even that of deliberate excision; (2) Iolaus at *v.* 344 refused to leave the altar until the success of Athens was assured, and *v.* 632 sqq. do not show that he had remained unmoved during the scene supposed to have been lost; (3) *v.* 673 recalls *v.* 399, and *vv.* 819—822 are a serious difficulty in any event, so long as they are supposed to refer to a human sacrifice<sup>1</sup>.

The other signs of mutilation need not detain us long. That there is a gap after *v.* 110 is certain, but it does not seem to have been extensive. Wilamowitz finds indications that the whole of the Parodos has been worked over. Thus room must be found here for the passage referred to by the Schol. on *Eq.* 214<sup>2</sup>, and *ἰνυμῶν* in *v.* 126 does not seem to be adequately explained by what has gone before; moreover *τᾶλλα δ' εἴρηται μάτην* (*v.* 117) points to a longer discussion than is contained in the existing text. On this view, the repetition of *v.* 97 sq. at *v.* 221 sq. could be explained without casting suspicion on the appearance of the lines in the later passage.

Hermann was the first to call attention to the gap after *v.* 1052. The abruptness of the conclusion is much greater than can be paralleled from any of the existing plays; and the words *ταῦτα* (or *ταῦτα*) *δοκεῖ μοι* are unintelligible in the present condition of the text. Also, we should expect the Chorus to dissociate themselves formally from Alcmena's action, and much more strongly than can be inferred from the words *τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν καθαρῶς ἔσται βασιλεῦσιν*.

As to the supposed gap after *v.* 1017 see note *in loc.*

<sup>1</sup> See note *in loc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. xxx.

## § 6. THE MSS.

The *Heraclidae* belongs to that group of plays the preservation of which we owe ultimately to an archetype containing the whole of the nineteen plays now existing<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, this edition is very scantily represented by surviving copies which have any independent value, and the only manuscripts which require to be taken into account are :—

(1) Codex Laurentianus 32, 2 (sometimes called Florentinus), preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence, and written on paper in the early part of the fourteenth century. This MS. contains eighteen plays, with the exception of the concluding part of the *Bacchae* from *v.* 755 to the end. The *Troades* is omitted. It is now generally known as L.

(2) Codex Palatinus 287 (generally known as P) in the Vatican library at Rome, written on parchment and belonging to the end of the fourteenth century. It contains thirteen plays, one of which, the *Heraclidae*, is incomplete, being without *vv.* 1003—1055. The plays omitted are *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Hel.*, *El.*, *H. F.*

(3) Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 contains *Heracl.* 1003—end, together with the six plays just referred to. It is now admitted to be the lost part of P. It is cited as G by Wecklein and in the critical notes of the present edition: Murray prefers to speak of P throughout, without distinguishing the two parts.

There are no scholia relating to the *Heraclidae* in the MSS. which we have described.

The relation existing between these MSS. is variously estimated; and in particular it should be remembered that their authority is not of the same character in all the plays which they contain. Although in many plays they are so

<sup>1</sup> The other plays belonging to this group are the *Cycl.*, *Suppl.*, *H. F.*, *Ion*, *El.*, *Iph. T.*, *Hel.*, *Bacch.*, *Iph. A.*

nearly identical that one is held to be derived from the other, in others they are universally admitted to be of independent value. In the *Heraclidae* they differ but slightly; and we have to choose between the view of Wecklein that P is copied from L, and that of Wilamowitz and Murray that both MSS. are copied from the same original.

Wecklein refers in support of his conclusion to four passages in this play—*vz.* 704, 778, 899 and 915—in each of which he holds that the error of P is due to a misreading of L's text. But in two of these his facts are not admitted, and the other two (704, 899) are insufficient in themselves to establish his inference: it would be equally legitimate to ascribe the ambiguity to the parent codex. Further there are certain facts which we may put on the other side, without claiming that they amount to a proof of P's independence. In 285 P has *ἐνθένδ' οὐκ*: this was also the original reading of L, but the scribe perceived his error and corrected it to *ἐνθένδε δ' οὐκ*. In 588 P has *σώτηραν* but L has *σώτειραν* with *ει* corrected from *η*. In 789 L has *ἐλευθερώσαι* altered to *ἠλευθερώσθαι*: P has *ἐλευθερώσαι* only. If P was copied from L, it seems odd that in all these cases it should have preserved the uncorrected reading (contrast 867).

From an examination of Prinz's collation as reported by Wecklein, leaving out all cases of doubt, and disregarding such minutiae as variation in accent and different modes of treating crasis and elision, I find that in this play L and P (G) differ in 67 instances. In no less than 54 of these passages L is unquestionably right, and P's errors are almost entirely due to the carelessness of the scribe. On the other hand, P is only twice right where L blunders, *viz.* in 494 and 505, and both these results may be accidental. From such data it is reasonable to give L credit for being correct in the three cases where the true reading is uncertain and that of either MS. has something in its favour—27, 581, 825. It is curious that Wecklein, who is the strongest opponent of P's trustworthiness, in each case adopts its reading and in

27 is so convinced of the soundness of *συμπάσχω* that he alters *κακῶς* to *κακά* in order to accommodate it. This is the most interesting divergence in the play, but it is quite possible that *συμπάσχω* is a mere blunder like *ὑβριν* for *ἦβην* in 282. No mistake of this scribe is commoner than the omission of a letter: thus in 449 *ἐχθρου* appears as *ἐχθου* and in 512 *ἐχθρων* as *ἐχρων*.

To return to our enumeration, there are three places where both are wrong but L is nearer to the truth (805, 848, 899), and two where P is wrong and L mutilated (252, 564). In 622 both are wrong, and neither is nearer to the truth than the other. *v.* 200 is a peculiar case: neither MS. contained *πάρος*, but, whereas the scribe of L wrote *λειπ(ει)* at the side, P's original reading was *ῆ*. The later corrections may be disregarded, and the proper inference seems to be that the archetype of both MSS. was illegible. Lastly in 573 P's *ὑστατος* may be one of its numerous blunders, or on the other hand L's *ὑστατον* may be a superficial attempt to smooth out the construction.

The critical notes in the present edition are intended to record all cases where the printed text differs from that of the MSS. except in minute particulars, and to state the authors of such corrections as have been adopted. Apart from this, only such conjectures are mentioned as appear to have some intrinsic merit or have been widely accepted.

## ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΩΝ

Ἴόλαος υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ἴφικλέους, ἀδελφιδουὸς δὲ Ἡρακλέους· ἐν νεότητι δ' ἐκείνῳ συστρατευσάμενος ἐν γῆρα τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου βοηθὸς εὖνους παρέστη. τῶν γὰρ παιδῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐλαυνομένων γῆς ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως, ἔχων αὐτοὺς ἤλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κάκει προσ-  
5 φυγῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔσχε τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, Δημοφῶντος τῆς πόλεως κρατοῦντος. Κοπρέως δὲ τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως κήρυκος ἀποσπᾶν θέλοντος τοὺς ἰκέτας, ἐκώλυσε αὐτόν· ὃ δὲ ἀπῆλθε, πόλεμον ἀπειλήσας προσδέχεσθαι. Δημοφῶν δὲ τούτου μὲν ὀλιγώρει χρησμῶν δὲ αὐτῷ νικηφόρων γενηθέντων, ἐὰν Δήμητρι τὴν εὐγεν-  
10 εστάτην παρθένων σφάξῃ, τοῖς λογίοις βαρέως ἔσχεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἰδίαν οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν τινος θυγατέρα χάριν τῶν ἰκετῶν ἀποκτεῖναι δίκαιον ἡγέται. τὴν μαντείαν δὲ προγνοῦσα μία τῶν Ἡρακλέους παιδῶν, Μακαρία, τὸν θάνατον ἐκουσίως ὑπέστη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν εὐγενῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐτίμησαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς  
15 πολεμίους ἐπιγνόντες παρόντας εἰς τὴν μάχην ὤρμησαν....

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7 οἰκέτας LP      10 λογίοις Wilamowitz: λόγους LP      14 ἐτίμησαν  
L. Dindorf: ἐτίμησεν LP

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΙΟΥΛΑΟΣ.

ΚΟΠΡΕΤΣ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ.

ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ.

ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ.

ΑΔΚΜΗΝΗ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

ΕΤΡΥΣΘΕΤΣ.

# ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΙ.

## ΙΟΛΑΟΣ.

Πάλαι ποτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δεδογμένον·  
ὁ μὲν δίκαιος τοῖς πέλας πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ,  
ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀνειμένον  
πόλει τ' ἄχρηστος καὶ συναλλάσσειν βαρύς,  
αὐτῷ δ' ἄριστος· οἶδα δ' οὐ λόγῳ μαθῶν. 5  
ἐγὼ γὰρ αἰδοῖ καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς σέβων,  
ἐξὸν κατ' Ἄργος ἡσύχως ναίειν, πόνων  
πλείστων μετέσχον εἰς ἀνὴρ Ἡρακλῆει,  
ὅτ' ἦν μεθ' ἡμῶν· νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν  
ναίει, τὰ κείνου τέκν' ἔχων ὑπὸ πτεροῖς 10  
σώζω τάδ' αὐτὸς δεόμενος σωτηρίας.  
ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν γῆς ἀπηλλάχθη πατήρ,  
πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἤθελ' Εὐρυσθεὺς κτανεῖν·  
ἄλλ' ἐξέδραμεν. καὶ πόλις μὲν οἴχεται,  
ψυχὴ δ' ἐσώθη. φεύγομεν δ' ἀλώμενοι, 15  
ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης ἐξορίζοντες πόλιν.  
πρὸς τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις καὶ τόδ' Εὐρυσθεὺς κακοῖς  
ὑβρισμ' ἐς ἡμᾶς ἠξίωσεν ὑβρίσαι·

8 Ἡρακλῆει Porson: Ἡρακλεῖ LP with ῶν added in the margin (!)  
or after ἀνὴρ (ρ) 14 ἐξέδραμεν Reiske: ἐξέδραμον LP

πέμπων ὅπου γῆς πυνθάνοιθ' ἰδρυμένους  
 κήρυκας ἐξαιτεῖ τε κἀξείργει χθονός, 20  
 πόλιν προτείνων Ἄργος οὐ σμικρὰν φίλην  
 ἐχθράν τε θέσθαι, χαυτὸν εὐτυχοῦνθ' ἅμα.  
 οἱ δ', ἀσθενῆ μὲν τὰπ' ἐμοῦ δεδορκότες,  
 σμικροὺς δὲ τούσδε καὶ πατρὸς τητωμένους,  
 τοὺς κρείσσονας σέβοντες ἐξείργουσι γῆς. 25  
 ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν φεύγουσι συμφεύγω τέκνοις,  
 καὶ σὺν κακῶς πράσσουσι συμπράσσω κακῶς,  
 ὀκνῶν προδοῦναι, μή τις ὦδ' εἴπη βροτῶν·  
 ἴδεσθ', ἐπειδὴ παισὶν οὐκ ἔστιν πατήρ,  
 Ἰόλαος οὐκ ἤμυνε συγγενῆς γεγῶς. 30  
 πάσης δὲ χώρας Ἑλλάδος τητῶμενοι,  
 Μαραθῶνα καὶ σύγκληρον ἐλθόντες χθόνα  
 ἰκέται καθεζόμεσθα βώμιοι θεῶν,  
 προσωφελῆσαι· πεδία γὰρ τῆσδε χθονὸς  
 δισοῦς κατοικεῖν Θησέως παῖδας λόγος, 35  
 κλήρῳ λαχόντας ἐκ γένους Πανδίουος,  
 τοῖσδ' ἐγγύς ὄντας· ὦν ἕκατι τέρμονας  
 κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν τόνδ' ἀφικόμεσθ' ὄρου.  
 δυοῖν γερόντοιιν δὲ στρατηγεῖται φυγή·  
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῖσδε καλχαίνων τέκνοις, 40  
 ἢ δ' αὖ τὸ θῆλυ παιδὸς Ἀλκμήνη γένος,  
 ἔσωθε ναοῦ τοῦδ' ὑπηγκαλισμένη  
 σῶζει· νέας γὰρ παρθένους αἰδούμεθα  
 ὄχλω πελάζειν κἀπιβωμισστατεῖν.  
 Ἄλλος δ' ἀδελφοί θ' οἷσι πρεσβεύει γένος 45

21 προτείνων Canter: προτιμῶν LP | φίλην Dindorf: φίλων LP

22 τε Musgrave: γε LP 27 συμπάσχω P 38 τόνδ' Lp: τῶνδ' P:  
 τήνδ'...ὀδόν Stephanus



ζητοῦσ' ὅπου γῆς πύργον οἰκιοῦμεθα,  
 ἦν τῆσδ' ἀπωθόιμεσθα πρὸς βίαν χθονός.  
 ὦ τέκνα τέκνα, δεῦρο, λαμβάνεσθ' ἐμῶν  
 πέπλων· ὀρῶ κήρυκα τόνδ' Εὐρυσθέως  
 στείχοντ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐ διωκόμεσθ' ὑπο 50  
 πάσης ἀλήται γῆς ἀπεστερημένοι.  
 ὦ μῖσος, εἶθ' ὄλοιο χῶ πέμψας <σ'> ἀνῆρ.  
 ὡς πολλά δὴ καὶ τῶνδε γένναίφ πατρὶ  
 ἐκ τοῦδε ταύτου στόματος ἠγγειλας κατὰ.

ΚΟΙΠΡΕΤΣ.

ἦ που καθῆσθαι τήνδ' ἔδραν καλὴν δοκεῖς 55  
 πόλιν τ' ἀφίχθαι σύμμαχον, κακῶς φρονῶν·  
 οὐ γάρ τις ἔστιν ὃς πάροιθ' αἰρήσεται  
 τὴν σὴν ἀχρεῖον δύναμιν ἀντ' Εὐρυσθέως·  
 χῶρει· τί μοχθεῖς ταῦτ' ; ἀνίστασθαί σε χρῆ  
 ἐς Ἄργος, οὐ σε λεύσιμος μένει δίκη. 60

- Ιο. οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ μοι βωμὸς ἀρκέσει θεοῦ,  
 ἐλευθέρα τε γαῖ' ἐν ἧ βεβήκαμεν.  
 Κο. βούλη πόνον μοι τῆδε προσθεῖναι χερί ;  
 Ιο. οὔτοι βία γέ μ' οὐδὲ τούσδ' ἄξεις λαβών.  
 Κο. γνώση σύ· μάντις δ' ἦσθ' ἄρ' οὐ καλὸς τάδε. 65  
 Ιο. οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτ' ἐμοῦ ζῶντός ποτε.  
 Κο. ἄπερρ'· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε, κὰν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς,  
 ἄξω νομίζων οὐπὲρ εἰς' Εὐρυσθέως.  
 Ιο. ὦ τὰς Ἀθήνας δαρὸν οἰκοῦντες χρόνον,  
 ἀμύνεθ'· ἰκέται δ' ὄντες ἀγοραίου Διὸς 70  
 βιαζόμεσθα καὶ στέφη μαιίνεται,  
 πόλει τ' ὄνειδος καὶ θεῶν ἀτιμία.

52 σ' add. Barnes

65 ἦσθα δ' οὐ Mekler, οὐκ ἄκρος Herwerden

67 ἄπερρ' Cobet: ἄπαιρ' LP

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἔα ἔα. τίς ἢ βοή βωμοῦ πέλας  
ἔστηκε; ποίαν συμφορὰν δείξει τάχα;

ἴδετε τὸν γέροντ' ἀμαλὸν ἐπὶ πῆδω στρ. 75  
χόμενον· ὦ τάλας.

- Χο. πρὸς τοῦ ποτ' ἐν γῆ πτώμα δύστηνον πίτνεις;  
 Ιο. ὄδ', ὦ ξένοι, με σοὺς ἀτιμάζων θεοὺς  
 ἔλκει βιαίως Ζηνὸς ἐκ προβωμίων.  
 Χο. σὺ δ' ἐκ τίνος γῆς, ὦ γέρον, τετράπτολιν 80  
 ξύνοικον ἦλθες λαόν; ἢ πέρα-  
 θεν ἀλίῳ πλάτα  
 κατέχετ' ἐκλιπόντες Εὐβοῖδ' ἀκτάν;  
 Ιο. οὐ νησιώτην, ὦ ξένοι, τρίβω βίον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ Μυκηνῶν σὴν ἀφίγμεθα χθόνα. 85  
 Χο. ὄνομα τί σε, γέρον,  
 Μυκηναῖος ὠνόμαζεν λεώς;  
 Ιο. τὸν Ἡράκλειον ἴστε που παραστάτην  
 Ἴόλαον· οὐ γὰρ σῶμ' ἀκήρυκτον τόδε.  
 Χο. οἶδ' εἰσακούσας καὶ πρὶν· ἀλλὰ τοῦ ποτε 90  
 ἐν χεὶρὶ σᾶ κομίζεις κόρους  
 νεοτρεφεῖς; φράσον.  
 Ιο. Ἡρακλέους οἶδ' εἰσὶ παῖδες, ὦ ξένοι,  
 ἰκέται σέθεν τε καὶ πόλεως ἀφιγμένοι.

75 sq. given to Iolaus in LP: corr. Lachmann 75 γέροντ' ἀμαλὸν  
 Hemsterhuys: γέροντα μάλλον LP After 76 Murray marks a  
 lacuna 80 σὺ δ' Tyrwhitt: ὁ δ' LP 83 κατέχετ' Hermann:  
 κατέσχετ' LP

- Χο. τί χρέος, ἢ λόγων πόλεος, ἔνεπέ μοι, ἀντ. 95  
 μελόμενοι τυχεῖν;
- Ιο. μήτ' ἐκδοθῆναι μήτε πρὸς βίαν θεῶν  
 τῶν σῶν ἀποσπασθέντες εἰς Ἄργος μολεῖν.
- Κο. ἀλλ' οὔτι τοῖς σοῖς δεσπόταις τάδ' ἀρκέσει,  
 οἱ σοῦ κρατοῦντες ἐνθάδ' εὐρίσκουσί σε. 100
- Χο. εἰκὸς θεῶν ἰκτῆρας αἰδεῖσθαι, ξένε,  
 καὶ μὴ βιαίῳ χειρὶ δαιμόνων  
 ἀπολιπεῖν σφ' ἔδη·  
 πότνια γὰρ Δίκα τάδ' οὐ πείσεται.
- Κο. ἔκπεμπέ νυν γῆς τούσδε τοὺς Εὐρυσθέως, 105  
 κούδεν βιαίῳ τῆδε χρήσομαι χειρί.
- Χο. ἄθεον ἰκεσίαν  
 μεθεῖναι πόλει ξένων προστροπᾶν.
- Κο. καλὸν δέ γ' ἔξω πραγμάτων ἔχειν πόδα,  
 εὐβουλίας τυχόντα τῆς ἀμείνουσ. 110  
 . . . . .
- Χο. οὐκοῦν τυράννω τῆσδε γῆς φράσαντά σε  
 χρῆν ταῦτα τολμᾶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ βία ξένους  
 θεῶν ἀφέλκειν, γῆν σέβοντ' ἐλευθέραν.
- Κο. τίς δ' ἐστὶ χώρας τῆσδε καὶ πόλεως ἄναξ;
- Χο. ἐσθλοῦ πατρὸς παῖς Δημοφῶν ὁ Θησέως. 115
- Κο. πρὸς τοῦτον ἀγὼν ἄρα τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου  
 μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη· τᾶλλα δ' εἴρηται μάτην.
- Χο. καὶ μὴν ὄδ' αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σπουδῆν ἔχων  
 Ἀκάμας τ' ἀδελφός, τῶνδ' ἐπήκοοι λόγων.

96 μελόμενοι Canter: μελομένω LP      103 ἀπολιπεῖν Seidler: ἀπο-  
 λείπειν LP | σφ' Musgrave: σ' LP      108 προστροπᾶν Canter: πρὸς τὸ  
 πᾶν LP      After 110 Kirchhoff marked a lacuna

## ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ.

- ἐπεὶπερ ἔφθης πρέσβυς ὦν νεωτέρους 120  
 βοηδρομήσας τήνδ' ἐπ' ἐσχάραν Διός,  
 λέξον, τίς ὄχλον τόνδ' ἀθροίζεται τύχη.
- Χο. ἰκέται κάθηνται παῖδες οἷδ' Ἑρακλέους  
 βωμὸν καταστέψαντες, ὡς ὄρας, ἄναξ,  
 πατρός τε πιστὸς Ἰόλεως παραστάτης. 125
- Δη. τί δῆτ' ἰνυγῶν ἦδ' ἐδεῖτο συμφορά;
- Χο. βία νιν οὔτος τῆσδ' ἀπ' ἐσχάρας ἄγειν  
 ζητῶν βοὴν ἔστησε κᾶσφηλεν γόνυ  
 γέροντος, ὥστε μ' ἐκβαλεῖν οἴκτω δάκρυ.
- Δη. καὶ μὴν στολήν γ' Ἑλληνα καὶ ῥυθμὸν πέπλων  
 ἔχει· τὰ δ' ἔργα βαρβάρου χερὸς τάδε. 131  
 σὸν δὴ τὸ φράζειν ἐστὶ μὴ μέλλειν τ' ἐμοὶ  
 ποίας ἀφίξαι δεῦρο γῆς ὄρους λιπῶν.
- Κο. Ἀργεῖός εἰμι· τοῦτο γὰρ θέλεις μαθεῖν.  
 ἐφ' οἷσι δ' ἤκω καὶ παρ' οὗ λέγειν θέλω. 135  
 πέμπει Μυκηνηῶν δεῦρό μ' Εὐρυσθεὺς ἄναξ,  
 ἄξοντα τούσδε· πολλὰ δ' ἦλθον, ὦ ξένε,  
 δίκαι' ὀμαρτῆ δρᾶν τε καὶ λέγειν ἔχων.  
 Ἀργεῖος ὦν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀργεῖους ἄγω,  
 ἐκ τῆς ἔμαντοῦ τούσδε δραπέτας ἔχων, 140  
 νόμοισι τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐψηφισμένους  
 θανεῖν· δίκαιοι δ' ἐσμὲν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν  
 αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτῶν κυρίουσ κραίνειν δίκας.  
 πολλῶν δὲ κᾶλλων ἐστίας ἀφιγμένοι

129 μ' ἐκβαλεῖν Reiske: μὴ (μοι ἰ) βαλεῖν LP 135 καίπερ οὐ...  
 θέλων LP: corr. Stiblinus 144 ἀφιγμένοι Firnhaber: ἀφιγμένων LP

ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοισίδ' ἔσταμεν λόγοις, 145  
 κούδεις ἐτόλμησ' ἴδια προσθέσθαι κακά.  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τιν' ἐς σέ μωρίαν ἐσκεμμένοι  
 δεῦρ' ἦλθον ἢ κίνδυνον ἐξ ἀμηχάνων  
 ῥίπτουντες, εἴτ' οὖν εἶτε μὴ γενήσεται·  
 οὐ γὰρ φρενήρη γ' ὄντα σ' ἐλπίζουσί που 150  
 μόνον τοσαύτης ἦν ἐπήλθον Ἑλλάδος  
 τὰς τῶνδ' ἀβούλως ξυμφορὰς κατοικτιεῖν.  
 φέρ' ἀντίθετος γάρ, τούσδε τ' ἐς γαίαν παρείς  
 ἡμᾶς τ' εἰσάσας ἐξάγειν, τί κερδανεῖς;  
 τὰ μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν τοιάδ' ἔστι σοι λαβεῖν, 155  
 Ἄργους τοσῆνδε χεῖρα τήν τ' Εὐρύσθεως  
 ἰσχὺν ἅπασαν τῆδε προσθέσθαι πόλει.  
 ἦν δ' ἐς λόγους τε καὶ τὰ τῶνδ' οἰκτίσματα  
 βλέψας πεπανθῆς, ἐς πάλην καθίσταται  
 δορὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα· μὴ γὰρ ὡς μεθήσομεν 160  
 δόξης ἀγῶνα τόνδ' ἄτερ χαλυβδικοῦ.  
 τί δῆτα φήσεις, ποῖα πεδί' ἀφαιρεθεῖς  
 τί ῥυσιασθεῖς, πόλεμον Ἄργείοις ἔχειν;  
 ποίοις δ' ἀμύνων συμμάχοις, τίνος δ' ὑπερ  
 θάψεις νεκροὺς πεσόντας; ἢ κακὸν λόγον 165  
 κτήση πρὸς ἀστῶν, εἰ γέροντος εἵνεκα  
 τύμβου, τὸ μηδὲν ὄντος, ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος,  
 παίδων τε τῶνδ' εἰς ἄντλον ἐμβήσῃ πόδα.  
 ἐρεῖς τὸ λῶστος ἐλπίδ' εὐρήσειν μόνου.

145 τοῖσιν... τοισίδ' Canter : τοισιδ'... τοῖσιν LP 147 ἢ Jacobs :  
 εἰ LP 148 ἢ Jacobs : εἰς LP 149 ῥίπτουτες Elmsley 152 ἀβούλους  
 Kirchhoff: ἀβούλους LP | κατοικτιεῖν Elmsley: κατοικτίσεις LP 153 τ'  
 Reiske: γ' LP 161 δόξης... χαλυβδικοῦ LP: corr. Barnes 163 τί  
 ῥυσιασθεῖς Kirchhoff: τιρυθλοῖς θῆς LP

καὶ τοῦτο πολλῶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνδεές· 170  
κακῶς γὰρ Ἀργείοισιν οἷδ' ὠπλισμένοις  
μάχουιντ' ἂν ἠβήσαντες, εἴ <τι> τοῦτό σε  
ψυχὴν ἐπαίρει, χοῦν μέσῳ πολὺς χρόνος,  
ἐν ᾧ διεργασθεῖτ' ἂν. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ·  
δοὺς μηδέν, ἀλλὰ τὰμ' ἐὼν ἄγειν ἐμέ 175  
κτῆσαι Μυκῆνας, μηδ' ὅπερ φιλεῖτε δρᾶν  
πάθης σὺ τοῦτο, τοὺς ἀμείνονας παρὸν  
φίλους ἐλέσθαι, τοὺς κακίονας λάβης.

Χο. τίς ἂν δίκην κρίνειεν ἢ γνοίῃ λόγον,  
πρὶν ἂν παρ' ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἐκμάθῃ σαφῶς; 180

Ιο. ἀναξ, ὑπάρχει γὰρ τόδ' ἐν τῇ σῆ χθονί,  
εἰπεῖν ἀκούσαί τ' ἐν μέρει πάρεστί μοι,  
κούδεις μ' ἀπώσει πρόσθεν, ὥσπερ ἄλλοθεν.  
ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τῶδ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ·  
ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀργούς οὐ μέτεσθ' ἡμῖν ἔτι, 185  
ψήφῳ δοκῆσαν, ἀλλὰ φεύγομεν πάτραν,  
πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὡς Μυκηναίους ἄγοι  
ὄδ' ὄντας ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἀπήλασαν χθονός;  
ξένοι γὰρ ἐσμεν. ἢ τὸν Ἑλλήνων ὄρον  
φεύγειν δικαιοῦθ' ὅστις ἂν τᾶργος φύγη; 190  
οὐκουν Ἀθήνας γ'. οὐ γὰρ Ἀργείων φόβῳ  
τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας ἐξελώσι γῆς.  
οὐ γάρ τι Τραχίς ἐστιν οὐδ' Ἀχαιικὸν

171 ὠπλισμένοις Schenkl: ὠπλισμένοι LP 172 ἀνηβήσαντες LP |  
τι add. Elmsley 179 Χο. Elmsley: ΔΗ. LP | κρίνοιεν LP: corr.  
Portus 181 γὰρ Wilamowitz: μὲν LP 184 μέσῳ Valckenaer:  
μέρει LP 185 οὐ μέτεσθ' Dobree: οὐδὲν ἔσθ' LP 188 ὄδ' Tyrwhitt:  
ὠδ' LP 190 φύγη Elmsley: φύγοι LP 191 οὐ γὰρ Stephanus:  
οὐκ ἄρ' LP

πόλισμ', ὅθεν σὺ τούσδε, τῇ δίκη μὲν οὔ,  
τὸ δ' Ἄργος ὀγκῶν, οἷάπερ καὶ νῦν λέγεις, 195  
ἤλαυνες ἰκέτας βωμίους καθημένους.

εἰ γὰρ τόδ' ἔσται καὶ λόγους κρινούσι σούς,  
οὐκ οἶδ' Ἀθήνας τάσδ' ἐλευθέρας ἔτι.

ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ τῶνδε λῆμα καὶ φύσιν·  
θυήσκειν θελήσους· ἢ γὰρ αἰσχύνῃ πάρος 200  
τοῦ ζῆν παρ' ἐσθλοῖς ἀνδράσιν νομίζεται.

πόλει μὲν ἀρκεῖ· καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίφθονον  
λίαν ἐπαινεῖν ἔστι, πολλάκις δὲ δὴ  
καυτὸς βαρυνθεὶς οἶδ' ἄγαν αἰνούμενος.

σοὶ δ' ὡς ἀνάγκη τούσδε βούλομαι φράσαι 205  
σῶζειν, ἐπεὶπερ τῆσδε προστατεῖς χθονός.

Πιτθεὺς μὲν ἔστι Πέλοπος, ἐκ δὲ Πιτθέως  
Αἴθρα, πατὴρ δ' ἐκ τῆσδε γεννᾶται σέθεν  
Θησεύς. πάλιν δὲ τῶνδ' ἀνειμί σοι γένος.

Ἡρακλῆς ἦν Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς, 210  
κείνη δὲ Πέλοπος θυγατρός· αὐτανεψίων  
πατὴρ ἂν εἴη σός τε χῶ τούτων γεγώς.

γένους μὲν ἦκεις ὧδε τοῖσδε, Δημοφῶν·  
ἂ δ' ἐκτὸς ἤδη τοῦ προσήκοντός σε δεῖ  
τεῖσαι λέγω σοι παισὶ· φημὶ γὰρ ποτε 215

σύμπλους γενέσθαι τῶνδ' ὑπασπίζων πατρὶ  
ζωστήρα Θησεῖ τὸν πολυκτόνου μέτα,

. . . . .

Ἄιδου τ' ἐρεμνῶν ἐξανήγαγεν μυχῶν

197 κρανοῦσι Elmsley

200 πάρος Reiske: see Introd. p. 7

202 πόλει Kirchhoff: πόλιν LP

211 αὐτανεψίων Reisig: αὐτανεψίω LP

212 χῶ Kirchhoff: καὶ LP

For lacuna after 217 see Comm.

218 ἐρεμνῶν Barnes: ἐρυμνῶν LP

πατέρα σόν· Ἐλλὰς πᾶσα τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ.  
 ὦν ἀντιδοῦναί σ' οἶδ' ἀπαιτοῦσιν χάριν, 220  
 μήτ' ἐκδοθῆναι μήτε πρὸς βίαν θεῶν  
 τῶν σῶν ἀποσπασθέντες ἐκπεσεῖν χθονός.  
 σοὶ γὰρ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν χωρίς, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει,  
 ἰκέτας ἀλήτας συγγενεῖς, οἴμοι, κακῶς—  
 βλέψον πρὸς αὐτοὺς βλέψον.—ἔλκεσθαι βία. 225  
 ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε καὶ καταστέφω χεροῖν,  
 μή, πρὸς γενείου, μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσης  
 τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας ἐς χέρας λαβεῖν.

γενοῦ δὲ τοῖσδε συγγενῆς, γενοῦ φίλος  
 πατὴρ ἀδελφὸς δεσπότης· ἅπαντα γὰρ 230  
 ταῦτ' ἐστὶ κρεῖσσω πλὴν ὑπ' Ἀργείοις πεσεῖν.

Χο. ᾠκτιρ' ἀκούσας τούσδε συμφορᾶς, ἀναξ.  
 τὴν δ' εὐγένειαν τῆς τύχης νικωμένην  
 νῦν δὴ μάλιστ' ἐσείδον· οἶδε γὰρ πατρὸς  
 ἐσθλοῦ γεγῶτες δυστυχοῦσ' ἀναξίως. 235

Δη. τρισσαί μ' ἀναγκάζουσι †συμφορᾶς† ὁδοί,  
 Ἴόλαε, τοὺς σοὺς μὴ παρώσασθαι ξένους·  
 τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ζεὺς ἐφ' οὗ σὺ βώμιος  
 θακεῖς νεοσσῶν τήνδ' ἔχων πανήγυριν,  
 τὸ συγγενές τε καὶ τὸ προῦφείλειν καλῶς, 240  
 πράσσειν παρ' ἡμῶν τούσδε πατρώαν χάριν,  
 τό τ' αἰσχρὸν, οὐπερ δεῖ μάλιστα φροντίσαι·  
 εἰ γὰρ παρήσω τόνδε συλᾶσθαι βία  
 ξένου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς βωμόν, οὐκ ἐλευθέραν

223 τῇ πόλει Erfurdt: πόλει κακόν LP 227 μὴ Kirchhoff: καὶ LP

228 λαβεῖν Elmsley: λαβών LP

236 συννοίας F. W. Schmidt

238 βώμιος Stephanus: βωμίους LP



οἰκεῖν δοκήσω γαῖαν, Ἄργείοις δ' ὄκνω 245  
 ἰκέτας προδοῦναι· καὶ τὰδ' ἀγχόνῃς πέλας.  
 ἀλλ' ὄφελος μὲν εὐτυχέστερος μολεῖν·  
 ὅμως δὲ καὶ νῦν μὴ τρέσης ὅπως σέ τις  
 σὺν παισὶ βωμοῦ τοῦδ' ἀποσπάσει βία.  
 σὺ δ' Ἄργος ἐλθὼν ταῦτά τ' Εὐρυσθεῖ φράσον,  
 πρὸς τοῖσδέ τ', εἴ τι τοισίδ' ἐγκαλεῖ ξένοις, 251  
 δίκης κυρήσειν· τούσδε δ' οὐκ ἄξεις ποτέ.

- ΚΟ. οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον ἢ τι καὶ νικῶ λόγῳ;  
 ΔΗ. καὶ πῶς δίκαιον τὸν ἰκέτην ἄγειν βία;  
 ΚΟ. οὐκ οὐκ ἐμοὶ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλ' <οὐ> σοὶ βλάβος;  
 ΔΗ. ἐμοὶ γ', εἴαν σοι τούσδ' ἐφέλκεσθαι μεθῶ. 256  
 ΚΟ. σὺ δ' ἐξόριζε, κατ' ἐκείθεν ἄξομεν.  
 ΔΗ. σκαιὸς πέφυκας τοῦ θεοῦ πλεον φρονῶν.  
 ΚΟ. δεῦρ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς κακοῖσι φευκτέον.  
 ΔΗ. ἅπασι κοινὸν ῥῦμα δαιμόνων ἔδρα. 260  
 ΚΟ. ταῦτ' οὐ δοκήσει τοῖς Μυκηναίοις ἴσως.  
 ΔΗ. οὐκ οὐκ ἐγὼ τῶν ἐνθάδ' εἰμὶ κύριος;  
 ΚΟ. βλάβπτων <γ'> ἐκείνους μηδὲν ἦν σὺ σωφρονῆς.  
 ΔΗ. βλάπτεισθ', ἐμοῦ γε μὴ μιαινόντος θεοῦς.  
 ΚΟ. οὐ βούλομαί σε πόλεμον Ἄργείοις ἔχειν. 265  
 ΔΗ. καγὼ τοιοῦτος· τῶνδε δ' οὐ μεθήσομαι.  
 ΚΟ. ἄξω γε μέντοι τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ λαβῶν.  
 ΔΗ. οὐκ ἄρ' ἐς Ἄργος ῥαδίως ἄπει πάλιν.

245 Ἄργείων Dobree | ὄκνω Musgrave: ὀκνώ LP 247 εὐτυχέστερος  
 apogr. Paris.: εὐτυχέστερον LP 249 ἀποσπάσει Elmsley: ἀποσπάση  
 LP 251 τοῖσδ' ἔτ' LP: corr. Musgrave 252 κυρήσειν Bothe:  
 κυρήσει\* L, κυρήσειε P 253 τε Heath 255 ἀλλ' οὐ Musgrave:  
 ἀλλὰ LP | σοὶ corr. apogr. Paris: σὺ LP 258 πλείον Aldus, πλείω  
 LP 262 τῶν Reiske: τῶνδ' LP 263 γ' add. Elmsley | ἂν LP:  
 corr. Matthiae | σωφρονοῖς Kirchoff

- Κο. πειρώμενος δὴ τοῦτό γ' αὐτίκ' εἶσομαι.
- Δη. κλαίων ἄρ' ἄψη τῶνδε, κοῦκ ἐς ἀμβολάς. 270
- Χο. μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσης θενεῖν.
- Δη. εἰ μή γ' ὁ κήρυξ σωφρονεῖν μαθήσεται.
- Χο. ἄπελθε· καὶ σὺ τοῦδε μὴ θίγης, ἄναξ.
- Κο. στείχω· μιᾶς γὰρ χειρὸς ἀσθενῆς μάχη.  
 ἤξω δὲ πολλὴν Ἄρεος Ἀργείου λαβῶν 275  
 πάγκαλκον αἰχμὴν δεῦρο· μυριοὶ δέ με  
 μένουσιν ἀσπιστῆρες Εὐρυσθεὺς τ' ἄναξ  
 αὐτὸς στρατηγῶν· Ἀλκάθου δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις  
 καρδοκῶν τάνθενδε τέρμασιν μένει.  
 λαμπρὸς δ' ἀκούσας σὴν ὕβριν φανήσεται 280  
 σοὶ καὶ πολίταις γῆ τε τῆδε καὶ φυτοῖς·  
 μάτην γὰρ ἤβην ᾧδὲ γ' ἂν κεκτήμεθα  
 πολλὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, μή σε τιμωρούμενοι.
- Δη. φθείρου· τὸ σὸν γὰρ Ἄργος οὐ δέδοικ' ἐγώ.  
 ἐνθένδε δ' οὐκ ἔμελλες αἰσχύνας ἐμέ 285  
 ἄξειν βία τούσδ'· οὐ γὰρ Ἀργείων πόλει  
 ὑπήκοον τήνδ', ἀλλ' ἐλευθέραν ἔχω.
- Χο. ὥρα προνοεῖν, πρὶν ὄροις πελάσαι  
 στρατὸν Ἀργείων·  
 μάλα δ' ὄξυς Ἄρης ὁ Μυκηναίων, 290  
 ἐπὶ τοῖσι δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ πρὶν.  
 πᾶσι γὰρ οὗτος κήρυξι νόμος,  
 δις τόσα πυργοῦν τῶν γιγνομένων.  
 πόσα νιν λέξειν βασιλεύσι δοκεῖς,  
 ὡς δεῖν' ἔπαθεν καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν 295

ψυχὴν ἦλθεν διακναῖσαι.

10. οὐκ ἔστι τοῦδε παισὶ κάλλιον γέρας,  
 ἢ πατρὸς ἐσθλοῦ κάγαθοῦ πεφυκέναι,  
 γάμων τ' ἀπ' ἐσθλῶν· ὅς δὲ νικηθεὶς πόθῳ  
 κακοῖς ἐκοινώνησεν, οὐκ ἐπαινέσω 300  
 τέκνοις ὄνειδος εἶνεχ' ἡδονῆς λιπεῖν.  
 τὸ δυστυχεὲς γὰρ ἠύγενεϊ' ἀμύνεται  
 τῆς δυσγενείας μᾶλλον· ἡμεῖς γὰρ κακῶν  
 ἐς τοῦσχατον πεσόντες ἠὔρομεν φίλους  
 καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τούσδ', οἳ τοσῆσδ' οἴκουμένης 305  
 Ἑλληνίδος γῆς τῶνδε προύστησαν μόνοι.  
 δότ', ὦ τέκν', αὐτοῖς χεῖρα δεξιάν, δότε,  
 ὑμεῖς τε παισί, καὶ πέλας προσέλθετε.  
 ὦ παῖδες, ἐς μὲν πείραν ἦλθομεν φίλων,  
 ἦν δ' οὖν ποθ' ὑμῖν νόστος ἐς πάτραν φανῆ 310  
 καὶ δώματ' οἰκῆσητε καὶ τιμὰς πατρός,  
 σωτῆρας αἰεὶ καὶ φίλους νομίζετε,  
 καὶ μήποτ' ἐς γῆν ἐχθρὸν αἴρεσθαι δόρυ,  
 μεμνημένοι τῶνδ', ἀλλὰ φιλτάτην πόλιν  
 πασῶν νομίζετ'. ἄξιοι δ' ὑμῖν σέβειν 315  
 οἳ γῆν τοσῆνδε καὶ Πελασγικὸν λεῶν  
 ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάξαντο πολεμίους ἔχειν,  
 πτωχοὺς ἀλήτας εἰσορῶντες· ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 οὐκ ἐξέδωκαν οὐδ' ἀπήλασαν χθονός.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανῶν, ὅταν θάνω, 320  
 πολλῶ σ' ἐπαίνω Θησέως, ὦ τᾶν, πέλας

299 γάμων Musgrave: γαμῖν LP      310 ὑμῖν apogr. Paris.:  
 ἡμῖν LP      315 ἄξιοι δ', Elmsley: ἄξιον LP      320 θάνω Brodaeus:  
 θάνης LP

ὑψηλὸν ἀρῶ καὶ λέγων τάδ' εὐφρανῶ,  
 ὡς εὖ τ' ἐδέξω καὶ τέκνοισιν ἤρκεσας  
 τοῖς Ἑρακλείοις, εὐγενῆς δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδα  
 σφύζει πατρώαν δόξαν, ἐξ ἐσθλῶν δὲ φύς 325  
 οὐδὲν κακίων τυγχάνεις γεγῶς πατρός  
 παύρων μετ' ἄλλων· ἓνα γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς ἴσως  
 εὔροις ἂν ὅστις ἐστὶ μὴ χείρων πατρός.

Χο. αἰεί ποθ' ἦδε γαῖα τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις  
 σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βούλεται προσωφελεῖν. 330  
 τοιγὰρ πόνους δὴ μυρίουσ ὑπὲρ φίλων  
 ἤνεγκε, καὶ νῦν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ὀρῶ πέλας.

Δη. σοί τ' εὖ λέλεκται, καὶ τὰ τῶνδ' αὐχῶ, γέρον,  
 τοιαῦτ' ἔσεσθαι· μνημονεύσεται χάρις.  
 κἀγὼ μὲν ἀστῶν σύλλογον ποιήσομαι, 335  
 τάξας δ', ὅπως ἂν τὸν Μυκηναίων στρατὸν  
 πολλῇ δέχωμαι χειρί, πρῶτα μὲν σκοποὺς  
 πέμψω πρὸς αὐτόν, μὴ λάθῃ με προσπεσών·  
 ταχὺς γὰρ Ἄργει πᾶς ἀνὴρ βοηδρόμος·  
 μάντεις τ' ἀθροίσας θύσομαι. σὺ δ' ἐς δόμους 340  
 σὺν παισὶ χώρει, Ζηνὸς ἐσχάραν λιπών.  
 εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ σοῦ, κὰν ἐγὼ θυραῖος ὦ,  
 μέριμναν ἔξουσ'. ἀλλ' ἴθ' ἐς δόμους, γέρον.

Ιο. οὐκ ἂν λίποιμι βωμόν. ἐξώμεσθα δὴ  
 ἰκέται μένοντες ἐνθάδ' εὖ πρᾶξαι πόλιν· 345  
 ὅταν δ' ἀγῶνος τοῦδ' ἀπαλλαχθῆς καλῶς,  
 ἴμεν πρὸς οἴκους. θεοῖσι δ' οὐ κακίοσι  
 χρώμεσθα συμμαχοῖσιν Ἀργείων, ἄναξ·  
 τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἥρα προστατεῖ, Διὸς δάμαρ,

322 ἀρῶ Elmsley: αἰρω LP

336 τάξας Kirchhoff: ταξω LP

344 ἐξώμεσθα Elmsley: ἐξόμεσθα LP: εὐξόμεσθα Cobet

ἡμῶν δ' Ἀθάνα. φημὶ δ' εἰς εὐπραξίαν 350  
καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν, θεῶν ἀμεινόνων τυχεῖν·  
μικωμένη γὰρ Παλλὰς οὐκ ἀνέξεται.

Χο. εἰ σὺ μέγ' αὐχεῖς, ἕτεροι στρ.  
σοῦ πλέον οὐ μέλονται,  
<ῶ> ξεῖν', Ἀργόθεν ἐλθών· 355  
μεγαληγορίαῖσι δ' ἐμὰς  
φρένας οὐ φοβήσεις.  
μήπω ταῖς μεγάλαισιν οὔ-  
τω καὶ καλλιχόροις Ἀθά-  
ναις εἴη. σὺ δ' ἄφρων ὅ τ' Ἄρ- 360  
γει Σθενέλου τύραννος·

ὃς πόλιν ἐλθὼν ἐτέραν ἀντ.  
οὐδὲν ἐλάσσον' Ἄργους,  
θεῶν ἰκτῆρας ἀλάτας  
καὶ ἐμὰς χθονὸς ἀντομένους 365  
ξένος ὢν βιαίως  
ἔλκεις, οὐ βασιλευσιν εἰ-  
ξας, οὐκ ἄλλο δίκαιον εἰ-  
πών. ποῦ ταῦτα καλῶς ἂν εἴ-  
η παρά γ' εὖ φρονούσιν; 370

εἰρήνα μὲν ἔμοιγ' ἀρέ- ἐπῳδ.  
σκει· σοὶ δ', ῶ κακόφρων ἄναξ,  
λέγω, εἰ πόλιν ἤξεις,  
οὐχ οὕτως ἂ δοκεῖς κυρή-

350 Ἀθάνα Elmsley: Ἀθηνα LP 355 ῶ add. Erfurdt 365 ἀντο-  
μένους Nauck: ἀντεχομένους LP 372 σοὶ Canter: σὺ LP

σεις· οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ἔγχος, οὐδ' 375  
 ἰτέα κατάχαλκός ἐστιν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πολέμων ἐραστὰς  
 μή μοι δορὶ συνταράξεις  
 τὰν εὐ χαρίτων ἔχουσαν  
 πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀνάσχου. 380

ΙΟ. ὦ παῖ, τί μοι σύννοιαν ὄμμασιν φέρων  
 ἤκει; νέον τι πολεμίων λέξεις πέρι;  
 μέλλουσιν ἢ πάρεισιν ἢ τί πυνθάνη;  
 οὐ γάρ τι μὴ ψεύσης γε κήρυκος λόγους·  
 ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς εὐτυχῆς τὰ πρὸς θεῶν 385  
 εἶσιν, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ μάλ' οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν  
 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἀλλὰ τῶν φρονημάτων  
 ὁ Ζεὺς κολαστῆς τῶν ἄγαν ὑπερφρόνων.

ΔΗ. ἦκει στράτευμ' Ἀργεῖον Εὐρυσθεύς τ' ἀναξ·  
 ἐγὼ νῦν αὐτὸς εἶδον. ἄνδρα γὰρ χρεῶν, 390  
 ὅστις στρατηγεῖν φησ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς,  
 οὐκ ἀγγέλοισι τοὺς ἐναντίους ὄραν.  
 πεδία μὲν οὖν γῆς ἐς τὰδ' οὐκ ἐφήκέ πω  
 στρατόν, λεπαίαν δ' ὀφρύην καθήμενος  
 σκοπεῖ, δόκησιν δὴ τόδ' ἂν λέγοιμί σοι, 395  
 †ποία προσάξει στρατόπεδον τὰ νῦν δορός,†  
 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τε τῆσδ' ἰδρύσεται χθονός.  
 καὶ τὰμὰ μέντοι πάντ' ἄραρ' ἤδη καλῶς·

379 εὐ χαρίτων Elmsley: εὐχαρίστως LP

382 λέξεις Kirchhoff:

λέγεις LP

384 ψεύσης Murray: ψεύση LP

385 πρόσθεν ὦν

Tyrwhitt

386 εἶσιν Elmsley: ἐστίν LP

393 τὰδ' Stephanus:

τόδ' LP

394 λεπαίαν Stiblinus: λεπάραν LP

396 corrupt: see

Comm.

πόλις τ' ἐν ὄπλοις σφάγιά θ' ἠτοιμασμένα  
 ἔστηκεν οἷς χρῆ ταῦτα τέμνεσθαι θεῶν, 400  
 θυηπολεῖται δ' ἄστυ μάντεων ὑπο,  
 τροπαϊά τ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ πόλει σωτήρια.  
 χρησμῶν δ' αἰδοῦς πάντας εἰς ἐν ἀλίσας  
 ἤλεγξα καὶ βέβηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα  
 λόγια παλαιά, τῆδε γῆ †σωτήρια†. 405  
 καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων διάφορ' ἐστὶ θεσφάτοις  
 πόλλ'. ἐν δὲ πᾶσι γνώμα ταῦτὸν ἐμπρέπει·  
 σφάξαι κελεύουσίν με παρθένον Κόρη  
 Δήμητρος, ἣτις ἐστὶ πατρὸς εὐγενοῦς.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω μὲν, ὡς ὄρας, προθυμίαν 410  
 τοσὴνδ' ἐς ὑμᾶς· παῖδα δ' οὔτ' ἐμὴν κτενῶ  
 οὔτ' ἄλλον ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν ἀναγκάσω  
 ἄκονθ'. ἐκὼν δὲ τίς κακῶς οὔτω φρονεῖ,  
 ὅστις τὰ φίλτατ' ἐκ χερῶν δώσει τέκνα;  
 καὶ νῦν πικρὰς ἂν συστάσεις ἂν εἰσίδοις, 415  
 τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὡς δίκαιον ἦν ξένοις  
 ἰκέταις ἀρήγειν, τῶν δὲ μωρίαν ἐμοῦ  
 κατηγορούντων· εἰ δὲ δὴ δράσω τόδε,  
 οἰκείος ἤδη πόλεμος ἐξαρτύεται.  
 ταῦτ' οὖν ὄρα σὺ καὶ συνεχεξέυρισχ' ὅπως 420  
 αὐτοί τε σωθήσεσθε καὶ πέδον τόδε,  
 κάγῳ πολίταις μὴ διαβληθήσομαι.  
 οὐ γὰρ τυραννίδ' ὥστε βαρβάρων ἔχω·

401 and 402 transposed by Tyrwhitt      405 κεχρησμένα Wecklein  
 406 θεσφάτοις Kirchhoff: θεσφάτων LP      407 πᾶσι Schol. Soph. *Ant.*  
 174 etc.: πάντων LP      408 κόρη Barnes: κόρην LP      411 κτειῶ  
 Elmsley: κτανῶ LP      415 πυκνὰς Dobree      416 ἦ LP      417 ἐμῶν  
 Elmsley: ἐμὴν LP

- ἀλλ' ἦν δίκαια δρῶ, δίκαια πείσομαι.  
 Χο. ἀλλ' ἢ πρόθυμον οὔσαν οὐκ ἔα θεὸς 425  
 ξένοις ἀρήγειν τήνδε χρήζουσιν πόλιν;
- Ιο. ὦ τέκν', ἔοιγμεν ναυτίλοισιν, οἵτινες  
 χειμῶνος ἐκφυγόντες ἄγριον μένος  
 ἐς χεῖρα γῆ συνήψαν, εἶτα χερσόθεν 430  
 πνοαῖσιν ἠλάθησαν ἐς πόντον πάλιν.  
 οὔτω δὲ χῆμεῖς τῆσδ' ἀπωθούμεσθα γῆς,  
 ἤδη πρὸς ἀκταῖς ὄντες ὡς σεσωμένοι.  
 οἴμοι· τί δῆτ' ἔτερψας ὦ τάλαινά με  
 ἐλπίς τότ', οὐ μέλλουσα διατελεῖν χάριν; 435  
 συγγνωστὰ γάρ τοι καὶ τὰ τοῦδ', εἰ μὴ θέλει  
 κτείνειν πολιτῶν παῖδας. αἰνέσαι δ' ἔχω  
 καὶ τάνθάδ'· εἰ θεοῖσι δὴ δοκεῖ τάδε  
 πράσσειν ἔμ', οὔτοι σοί γ' ἀπόλλυται χάρις.  
 ὦ παῖδες, ὑμῖν δ' οὐκ ἔχω τί χρήσομαι.  
 ποῖ τρεψόμεσθα; τίς γὰρ ἄστεπτος θεῶν; 440  
 ποῖον δὲ γαίας ἔρκος οὐκ ἀφίγμεθα;  
 ὀλούμεθ', ὦ τέκν', ἐκδοθησόμεσθα δῆ.  
 κάμου μὲν οὐδὲν εἴ με χρῆ θανεῖν μέλει,  
 πλὴν εἴ τι τέρψω τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς θανών.  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ κλαίω καὶ κατοικκίρω, τέκνα, 445  
 καὶ τὴν γεραιὰν μητέρ' Ἀλκμήνην πατρός.  
 ὦ δυστάλαινα τοῦ μακροῦ βίου σέθεν·  
 τλήμων δὲ κάγώ, πολλὰ μοχθήσας μάτην.  
 χρῆν χρῆν ἄρ' ἡμᾶς ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἐχθροῦ χέρας  
 πεσόντας αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς λιπεῖν βίον. 450

426 χρήζουσιν Herwerden: χρήζουσιν LP 430 πνοαῖσιν LP

435 θέλει Elmsley: θέλοι LP

436 αἰνέσαι Valckenaer:

αἰνέσας LP



ἀλλ' οἶσθ' ὃ μοι σύμπραξον; οὐχ ἅπανα γὰρ  
 πέφευγεν ἐλπίς τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ σωτηρίας.  
 ἔμ' ἔκδος Ἀργείοισιν ἀντὶ τῶνδ', ἄναξ,  
 καὶ μήτε κινδύνευε σωθήτω τέ μοι  
 τέκν'. οὐ φιλεῖν δεῖ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν· ἴτω. 455  
 μάλιστα δ' Εὐρυσθεὺς με βούλοισ' ἂν λαβῶν  
 τὸν Ἡράκλειον σύμμαχον καθυβρίσαι·  
 σκαιὸς γὰρ ἀνήρ. τοῖς σοφοῖς δ' εὐκτὸν σοφῶ  
 ἔχθραν συνάπτειν, μὴ ἀμαθεῖ φρονήματι·  
 πολλῆς γὰρ αἰδοῦς †καὶ δίκης† τις ἂν τύχοι. 460  
 ΧΟ. ὦ πρέσβυ, μή νυν τήνδ' ἐπαιτιῶ πόλιν·  
 τάχ' ἂν γὰρ ἡμῖν ψευδὲς ἀλλ' ὅμως κακὸν  
 γένοιτ' ὄνειδος ὡς ξένους προυδώκαμεν.  
 ΔΗ. γενναῖα μὲν τάδ' εἶπας, ἀλλ' ἀμήχανα.  
 οὐ σοῦ χατίζων δεῦρ' ἄναξ στρατηλατεῖ· 465  
 τί γὰρ γέροντος ἀνδρὸς Εὐρυσθεῖ πλέον  
 θανόντος; ἀλλὰ τούσδε βούλεται κτανεῖν.  
 δεινὸν γὰρ ἐχθροῖς βλαστάνοντες εὐγενεῖς  
 νεανῖαι τε καὶ πατρὸς μεμνημένοι  
 λύμας· ἂ κείνον πάντα προσκοπεῖν χρεῶν. 470  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τιν' ἄλλην οἶσθα καιριωτέραν  
 βουλήν, ἐτοίμαζ', ὡς ἔγωγ' ἀμήχανος  
 χρησμῶν ἀκούσας εἰμὶ καὶ φόβου πλέως.

ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ.

ξένοι, θράσος μοι μηδὲν ἐξόδοις ἐμαῖς  
 προσθήτε· πρῶτον γὰρ τὸδ' ἐξαιτήσομαι· 475

451 ἅπανα Stephanus: ἅπασι LP      460 fort. κὰν δίκη | τύχοι  
 Tyrwhitt: τύχη LP      462 ψευδὲς Nauck: ψεῦδος LP      470 λύμας  
 Elmsley

γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν  
 κάλλιστον, εἴσω θ' ἤσυχον μένειν δόμων.  
 τῶν σῶν δ' ἀκούσασ', Ἰόλεως, στεναγμάτων,  
 ἐξήλθον, οὐ ταχθεῖσα πρεσβεύειν γένους,  
 ἀλλ' εἰμὶ γὰρ πως πρόσφορος, μέλει δέ μοι 480  
 μάλιστ' ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε κάμαντῆς πέρι,  
 θέλω πυθέσθαι, μὴ ἔπι τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς  
 προσκείμενόν τι πῆμα σὴν δάκνει φρένα.

Ιο. ὦ παῖ, μάλιστα σ' οὐ νεωστὶ δὴ τέκνων  
 τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐνδίκως αἰνεῖν ἔχω. 485  
 ἡμῖν δὲ δόξας εὖ προχωρήσαι δόμος  
 πάλιν μεθέστηκε· αὐθις ἐς τὰ μῆχανον·  
 χρησμῶν γὰρ ὠδούς φησι σημαίνειν ὅδε  
 οὐ ταῦρον οὐδὲ μόσχον, ἀλλὰ παρθένον  
 σφάξαι Κόρη Δήμητρος ἥτις εὐγενής, 490  
 εἰ χρὴ μὲν ἡμᾶς, χρὴ δὲ τήνδ' εἶναι πόλιν.  
 ταῦτ' οὖν ἀμηχανοῦμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τέκνα  
 σφάξειν ὅδ' αὐτοῦ φησιν οὔτ' ἄλλου τινός.  
 κάμοι λέγει μὲν οὐ σαφῶς, λέγει δέ πως,  
 εἰ μὴ τι τούτων ἐξαμηχανήσομεν, 495  
 ἡμᾶς μὲν ἄλλην γαίαν εὐρίσκειν τινά,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ σῶσαι τήνδε βούλεται χθόνα.

ΜΑ. ἐν τῷδε κἀχόμεσθα σωθῆναι λόγῳ;

Ιο. ἐν τῷδε, τᾶλλα γ' εὐτυχῶς πεπραγότες.

ΜΑ. μὴ νυν τρέσης ἔτ' ἐχθρὸν Ἀργείων δόρυ· 500  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴ πρὶν κελευσθῆναι, γέρον,

477 θ' Elmsley: δ' LP    486 δρόμος Jacobs    490 κόρη Δήμητρος  
 Pierson: κελεύειν μητρὸς LP    491 χρῆ...χρῆ Hermann: χρῆν...χρῆν  
 LP    493 σφάξειν Elmsley: σφάζειν LP    498 κἀχόμεσθα Elmsley:  
 κεύχόμεσθα LP    500 Ἀογείων Elmsley: Ἀργείων LP

θνήσκειν ἑτοίμη καὶ παρίστασθαι σφαγῇ.  
 τί φήσομεν γάρ, εἰ πόλις μὲν ἀξιοῖ  
 κίνδυνον ἡμῶν εἶνεκ' αἵρεσθαι μέγαν,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ προστιθέντες ἄλλοισιν πόνους, 505  
 παρὸν σεσῶσθαι, φευξόμεσθα μὴ θανεῖν;  
 οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια,  
 στένειν μὲν ἰκέτας δαιμόνων καθημένους,  
 πατρὸς δ' ἐκείνου φύντας οὐ πεφύκαμεν,  
 κακοὺς ὀρᾶσθαι· ποῦ τὰδ' ἐν χρηστοῖς πρέπει;  
 κάλλιον, οἶμαι, τῆσδ', ἢ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ, 511  
 πόλεως ἀλούσης χεῖρας εἰς ἐχθρῶν πεσεῖν,  
 κάπειτα δεινὰ πατρὸς οὔσαν εὐγενοῦς  
 παθοῦσαν Ἄιδην μηδὲν ἦσσαν εἰσιδεῖν.  
 ἀλλ' ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆσδ' ἀλητεύω χθονός; 515  
 κοῦκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι δῆτ', ἐὰν δὴ τις λέγη,  
 τί δεῦρ' ἀφίκεσθ' ἰκεσίοισι σὺν κλάδοις,  
 αὐτοὶ φιλοψυχοῦντες; ἔξιτε χθονός·  
 κακοὺς γὰρ ἡμεῖς οὐ προσωφελήσομεν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι, τῶνδε μὲν τεθνηκότων, 520  
 αὐτὴ δὲ σωθεῖσ', ἐλπίδ' εὖ πράξειν ἔχω·  
 —πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη τῆδε προύδοσαν φίλους.—  
 τίς γὰρ κόρην ἔρημον ἢ δάμαρτ' ἔχειν  
 ἢ παιδοποιεῖν ἐξ ἐμοῦ βουλήσεται;  
 οὔκουν θανεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ τούτων τυχεῖν 525  
 ἀναξίαν; ἄλλη δὲ κὰν πρέποι τινὶ

504 αἵρεσθαι Elmsley: αἰρείσθαι LP

506 σφε σῶσαι Nauck

δὲ

513 κάπειτα τινὰ L, κάπειτα τινὰ altered to κάπειτα δεινὰ P

515 ἀλη-

τεύσω Stephanus

526 κὰν πρέποι Scaliger and Elmsley: καὶ

πρέπει LP

- μάλλον τάδ', ἥτις μὴ ἴσιμος ὡς ἐγώ.  
 ἠγείσθ' ὅπου δεῖ σῶμα κατθανεῖν τόδε,  
 καὶ στεμματοῦτε καὶ κατάρχεσθ', εἰ δοκεῖ·  
 νικᾶτε δ' ἐχθρούς· ἦδε γὰρ ψυχὴ πάρα 530  
 ἐκούσα κούκ ἄκουσα· κάξαγγέλλομαι  
 θνήσκειν ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε κάμαυτῆς ὑπερ.  
 εὔρημα γάρ τοι μὴ φιλοψυχοῦς' ἐγὼ  
 κάλλιστον ἠύρηκ', εὐκλεῶς λιπεῖν βίον.
- Χο. φεῦ φεῦ, τί λέξω, παρθένου μέγαν λόγον 535  
 κλύων, ἀδελφῶν ἢ πάρος θέλει θανεῖν;  
 τούτων τίς ἂν λέξειε γενναίους λόγους  
 μάλλον, τίς ἂν δράσειεν ἀνθρώπων ἔτι;
- Ιο. ὦ τέκνον, οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλλοθεν τὸ σὸν κάρα 540  
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐκείνου· σπέρμα τῆς θείας φρενὸς  
 πέφυκας Ἡράκλειον· οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι  
 τοῖς σοῖς λόγοισι, τῇ τύχῃ δ' ἀλγύνομαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐνδικωτέρως φράσω·  
 πάσας ἀδελφὰς τῆσδε δεῦρο χρῆ καλεῖν,  
 καῖθ' ἢ λαχοῦσα θνησκέτω γένους ὑπερ· 545  
 σέ δ' οὐ δίκαιον κατθανεῖν ἄνευ πάλου.
- Μα. οὐκ ἂν θάνοιμι τῇ τύχῃ λαχοῦς' ἐγώ·  
 χάρις γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι· μὴ λέξης, γέρον.  
 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐνδέχεσθε, καὶ βούλεσθέ μοι  
 χρῆσθαι προθύμῳ, τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγὼ 550  
 δίδωμ' ἐκούσα τοῖσδ', ἀναγκασθεῖσα δ' οὔ.
- Ιο. φεῦ·  
 ὄδ' αὖ λόγος σοι τοῦ πρὶν εὐγενέστερος·  
 κάκεῖνος ἦν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' ὑπερφέρεις

τόλμη τε τόλμαν καὶ λόγῳ χρηστῷ λόγον. 555  
 οὐ μὴν κελεύω γ', οὐδ' ἀπεννέπω, τέκνον,  
 θνήσκειν σ'· ἀδελφοὺς <δ'> ὠφελεῖς θανοῦσα σούς.

ΜΑ. σοφῶς κελεύεις· μὴ τρέσης μιάσματος  
 τοῦμοῦ μετασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως θάνω.  
 ἔπου δέ, πρέσβυ· σῆ γὰρ ἐνθανεῖν χερὶ 560  
 θέλω· πέπλοις δὲ σῶμ' ἐμὸν κρύψον παρών·  
 ἐπεὶ σφαγῆς γε πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν εἴμ' ἐγώ,  
 εἴπερ πέφυκα πατρὸς οὐπερ εὐχομαι.

ΙΟ. οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην σῶ παρεστάται μορφῶ.  
 ΜΑ. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ τοῦδε χρῆζε, μή μ' ἐν ἄρσένων, 565  
 ἀλλ' ἐν γυναικῶν χερσὶν ἐκπνεῦσαι βίον.

ΔΗ. ἔσται τάδ', ὧ τάλαινα παρθένων· ἐπεὶ  
 κάμοι τόδ' αἰσχρόν, μή σε κοσμεῖσθαι καλῶς,  
 πολλῶν ἕκατι, τῆς τε σῆς εὐψυχίας  
 καὶ τοῦ δικαίου· τλημονεστάτην δὲ σὲ 570  
 πασῶν γυναικῶν εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.  
 ἀλλ', εἴ τι βούλη, τούσδε τὸν γέροντά τε  
 χῶρει προσειποῦσ' ὑστάτοις προσφθέγμασιν.

ΜΑ. ὦ χαῖρε, πρέσβυ, χαῖρε, καὶ δίδασκέ μοι  
 τοιούσδε τούσδε παῖδας, ἐς τὸ πᾶν σοφούς, 575  
 ὥσπερ σύ· μηδὲν μᾶλλον· ἀρκέσουσι γάρ.  
 πειρῶ δὲ σῶσαι μὴ θανεῖν πρόθυμος ὦν·  
 σοὶ παῖδές ἐσμεν, σαῖν χεροῖν τεθράμμεθα.  
 ὄρας δὲ κάμὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ὥραν γάμου  
 διδοῦσαν ἀντὶ τῶνδε κατθανουμένην. 580  
 ὑμεῖς τ', ἀδελφῶν ἢ παροῦσ' ὀμιλία,

557 σ' Reiske: γ' LP | δ' add. Barnes 567 ΔΗ. Heath: IO. LP

573 ὑστάτοις προσφθέγμασιν Blomfield: ὑστατον πρόσφθεγμά μοι L:

ὑστατος πρόσφθεγμά μοι P 576 ἀρκέσουσι Stephanus: ἀρέσκουσι LP

εὐδαιμονοῖτε, καὶ γένοιθ' ὑμῖν ὅσων  
 ἡμῆ πάροιθεν καρδία σφαγήσεται.  
 καὶ τὸν γέροντα τήν τ' ἔσω γραΐαν δόμων  
 τιμᾶτε πατρὸς μητέρ' Ἀλκμήνην ἐμοῦ 585  
 ξένους τε τούσδε. κὰν ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων  
 καὶ νόστος ὑμῖν εὐρεθῆ ποτ' ἐκ θεῶν,  
 μέμνησθε τὴν σώτειραν ὡς θάψαι χρεῶν·  
 κάλλιστά τοι δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδεὴς  
 ὑμῖν παρέστην, ἀλλὰ προύθανον γένους. 590

τάδ' ἀντὶ παίδων ἐστὶ μοι κειμήλια  
 τῆς παρθενείας, εἴ τι δὴ κάτω χθονός·  
 εἶη γε μέντοι μηδέν. εἰ γὰρ ἔξομεν  
 κἀκεῖ μερίμνας οἱ θανούμενοι βροτῶν,  
 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι τις τρέψεται· τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν 595  
 κακῶν μέγιστον φάρμακον νομίζεται.

Ιο. ἀλλ', ὦ μέγιστον ἐκπρέπουσ' εὐψυχία  
 πασῶν γυναικῶν, ἴσθι, τιμιωτάτη  
 καὶ ζῶσ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ θανούσ' ἔσῃ πολὺ·  
 καὶ χαῖρε· δυσφημεῖν γὰρ ἄζομαι θεάν, 600  
 ἧ σὸν κατῆρκεται σῶμα, Δήμητρος κόρη.  
 ὦ παῖδες, οἰχόμεσθα· λύεται μέλη  
 λύπη· λάβεσθε κεῖς ἔδραν μ' ἐρείσατε  
 αὐτοῦ πέπλοισι τοῖσδε κρύψαντες, τέκνα.  
 ὡς οὔτε τούτοις ἤδομαι πεπραγμένοις, 605  
 χρησμοῦ τε μὴ κρανθέντος οὐ βιώσιμον·  
 μείζων γὰρ ἄτη· συμφορὰ δὲ καὶ τάδε.

[στρ.]

Χο. οὐτινά φημι θεῶν ἄτερ ὄλβιον, οὐ βαρίποτμον

585 τιμᾶτε Portus: τιμῶτε LP 592 τῆς ed.: καὶ LP | κάτω Stob.  
 fl. 120, 6: κατὰ LP 602 λύεται Milton: δύεται LP

ἄνδρα γενέσθαι,  
 οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἴμβεβάναι δόμον 610  
 εὐτυχία· παρὰ δ' ἄλλαν ἄλλα  
 μοῖρα διώκει·  
 τὸν μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν βραχὺν ᾤκισε,  
 τὸν δ' ἑτάληταν† εὐδαίμονα τεύχει.  
 μόρσιμα δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν θέμις, οὐ σοφία 615  
 ἀπώσεται,  
 ἀλλὰ μάταν ὁ πρόθυμος αἰεὶ πόνον ἔξει.

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ προπεσῶν τὰ θεῶν φέρε, μηδ'  
 ὑπεράλγει [ἀντ. 620  
 φροντίδα λύπα·  
 εὐδόκιμον γὰρ ἔχει θανάτου μέρος  
 ἅ μελέα πρό τ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ γᾶς,  
 οὐδ' ἀκλεῆς νιν  
 δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται·  
 ἅ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων· 625  
 ἄξια μὲν πατρός, ἄξια δ' εὐγενίας τάδε γίγνεται.  
 εἰ δὲ σέβεις θανάτους ἀγαθῶν, μετέχω σοι.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

610 ἴμβεβάναι ed.: βεβάναι LP      611 ἄλλαν Seidler: ἄλλον LP,  
 ἄλλον γ' l      614 ἀτίταν Lobeck      619 προπεσῶν Kirchhoff: προσ-  
 πεσῶν LP with πιτυῶν above l (or L?) | φέρε Elmsley: ὑπέρ LP  
 622 πρό τ' Barnes: πρὸς L, πρὸς τ' P      After 629 lacuna marked by  
 Kirchhoff

## ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ.

- ὦ τέκνα, χαίρετ'. Ἴόλεως δὲ ποῦ γέρων 630  
 μήτηρ τε πατὸς τῆσδ' ἔδρας ἀποστατεί;
- Ιο. πάρεσμεν, οἶα δὴ γ' ἐμοῦ παρουσία.
- Θε. τί χρῆμα κείσαι καὶ κατηφῆς ὄμμ' ἔχεις;
- Ιο. φροντίς τις ἦλθ' οἰκεῖος, ἧ συνειχώμην.
- Θε. ἔπαιρέ νυν σεαυτὸν, ὀρθωσον κára. 635
- Ιο. γέροντές ἐσμεν κοῦδαμῶς ἐρρώμεθα.
- Θε. ἦκω γε μέντοι χάρμα σοι φέρων μέγα.
- Ιο. τίς δ' εἶ σύ; ποῦ σοι συντυχῶν ἀμνημονῶ;
- Θε. Ὕλλου πενέστης· οὐ με γιγνώσκεις ὄρων;
- Ιο. ὦ φίλταθ', ἦκεις ἄρα σωτὴρ νῶν βλάβης; 640
- Θε. μάλιστα· καὶ πρὸς γ' εὐτυχεῖς τὰ νῦν τάδε.
- Ιο. ὦ μήτηρ ἐσθλοῦ παιδός, Ἀλκμήνην λέγω,  
 ἔξελθ', ἄκουσον τοῦδε φιλτάτους λόγους.  
 πάλαι γὰρ ὠδίνουσα τῶν ἀφιγμένων  
 ψυχὴν ἐτήκου νόστος εἰ γενήσεται. 645

## ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗ.

τί χρῆμ' αὐτῆς πᾶν τόδ' ἐπλήσθη στέγος;  
 Ἴόλαε, μῶν τίς σ' αὐ βιάζεται παρῶν  
 κῆρυξ ἀπ' Ἄργους; ἀσθενῆς μὲν ἢ γ' ἐμὴ  
 ῥώμη, τοσόνδε δ' εἰδέναί σε χρή, ξένε,  
 οὐκ ἔστ' ἄγειν σε τούσδ' ἐμοῦ ζώσης ποτέ. 650  
 ἦ τάρ' ἐκείνου μὴ νομιζοίμην ἐγῶ

631 τε Musgrave: δὲ LP      634 συνειχώμην Elmsley: συνεσχόμην  
 LP      640 ἦκεις apogr. Paris.: ἦκες LP      643 τοῦδε Elmsley:  
 τούσδε LP      649 σε χρή Dobree: σ' ἐχρῆν LP



μήτηρ ἔτ'· εἰ δὲ τῶνδε προσθίξῃ χερσί,  
 δυοῖν γερόντοιιν οὐ καλῶς ἀγωνιῇ.

ΙΟ. θάρσει, γεραιά, μὴ τρέσης· οὐκ Ἀργόθεν  
 κῆρυξ ἀφίικται πολεμίους λόγους ἔχων. 655

ΑΔ. τί γὰρ βοήν ἔστησας ἄγγελον φόβου;

ΙΟ. σέ, πρόσθε ναοῦ τοῦδ' ὅπως βαίης πέλας.

ΑΔ. οὐκ ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς ταῦτα· τίς γάρ ἐσθ' ὄδε;

ΙΟ. ἦκοντα παῖδα παιδὸς ἀγγέλλει σέθεν.

ΑΔ. ὦ χαῖρε καὶ σὺ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀγγέλμασιν. 660

ἀτὰρ τί χώρα τῆδε προσβαλὼν πόδα  
 ποῦ νῦν ἄπεστι; τίς νιν εἶργε συμφορὰ  
 σὺν σοὶ φανέντα δεῦρ' ἐμὴν τέρψαι φρένα;

ΘΕ. στρατὸς καθίζει τάσσεταιί θ' ὄν ἦλθ' ἔχων.

ΑΔ. τοῦδ' οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου μέτεστι δῆ. 665

ΙΟ. μέτεστιν· ἡμῶν δ' ἔργον ἱστορεῖν τάδε.

ΘΕ. τί δῆτα βούλῃ τῶν πεπραγμένων μαθεῖν;

ΙΟ. πόσον τι πλήθος συμμάχων πάρεστ' ἔχων;

ΘΕ. πολλούς· ἀριθμὸν δ' ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι.

ΙΟ. ἴσασιν, οἶμαι, ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίων πρόμοι. 670

ΘΕ. ἴσασι· καὶ δὴ λαῖδον ἔστηκεν κέρας.

ΙΟ. ἤδη γὰρ ὡς ἐς ἔργον ὤπλισται στρατός;

ΘΕ. καὶ δὴ παρήκται σφάγια τάξεων ἐκάς.

ΙΟ. πόσον τι δ' ἔστ' ἄπωθεν Ἀργεῖου δόρυ;

ΘΕ. ὥστ' ἐξορᾶσθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐμφανῶς. 675

ΙΟ. τί δρῶντα; μῶν τάσσοντα πολεμίων στίχας;

ΘΕ. ἠκάζομεν ταῦτ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐξηκούομεν.

ἀλλ' εἴμ'· ἐρήμους δέσποτας τοῦμὸν μέρος  
 οὐκ ἂν θέλοιμι πολεμίοισι συμβαλεῖν.

- Ιο. κάγωγε σὺν σοί· ταῦτὰ γὰρ φροντίζομεν, 680  
 φίλοις παρόντες, ὡς ἔοιγμεν, ὠφελεῖν.
- Θε. ἤκιστα πρὸς σοῦ μῶρον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἔπος.
- Ιο. καὶ μὴ μετασχεῖν γ' ἀλκίμου μάχης φίλοις.
- Θε. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ὄψει τραῦμα, μὴ δρώσης χερός.
- Ιο. τί δ'; οὐ σθένειμι κὰν ἐγὼ δι' ἀσπίδος; 685
- Θε. σθένεις ἄν, ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν αὐτὸς ἄν πέσοις.
- Ιο. οὐδεὶς ἔμ' ἐχθρῶν προσβλέπων ἀνέξεται.
- Θε. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ τᾶν, ἢ ποτ' ἦν ῥώμη σέθεν.
- Ιο. ἀλλ' οὖν μαχοῦνταιί γ' ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι.
- Θε. σμικρὸν τὸ σὸν σήκωμα προστίθης φίλοις. 690
- Ιο. μὴ τοί μ' ἔρυκε δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένον.
- Θε. δρᾶν μὲν σύ γ' οὐχ οἴός τε, βούλεσθαι δ' ἴσως.
- Ιο. ὡς μὴ μενούντα τᾶλλα σοι λέγειν πάρα.
- Θε. πῶς οὖν ὀπλίτης τευχέων ἄτερ φανῆ;
- Ιο. ἔστ' ἐν δόμοισιν ἔνδον αἰχμάλωθ' ὄπλα 695  
 τοῖσδ', οἷσι χρησόμεσθα κάποδῶσομεν  
 ζῶντες· θανόντας δ' οὐκ ἀπαιτήσει θεός.  
 ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω κάπο πασσάλων ἐλὼν  
 ἔνεγχ' ὀπλίτην κόσμον ὡς τάχισταί μοι.  
 αἰσχροὺν γὰρ οἰκούρημα γίγνεται τόδε, 700  
 τοὺς μὲν μάχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δειλιά μένειν.
- Χο. λῆμα μὲν οὐπω στόρνυσι χρόνος  
 τὸ σόν, ἀλλ' ἠβᾶ· σῶμα δὲ φροῦδον.  
 τί πονεῖς ἄλλως ἢ σὲ μὲν βλάψει,  
 σμικρὰ δ' ὀνήσει πόλιν ἡμετέραν; 705  
 χρῆ γνωσιμαχεῖν τὴν ἡλικίαν,  
 τὰ δ' ἀμήχαν' ἔαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως

685, 686 θένειμι and θένεις Pierson

689 μαχοῦνται Madvig:

μαχοῦμαι LP

694 ὀπλίτης Elmsley: ὀπλίταις LP

ἤβην κτήση πάλιν αἰθις.

- ΑΔ. τί χρήμα μέλλεις σῶν φρενῶν οὐκ ἔνδον ὦν  
 λιπεῖν μ' ἔρημον σὺν <τέκνου> τέκνοις ἐμοῖς; 710
- ΙΟ. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἀλκή· σοὶ δὲ χρή τούτων μέλειν.
- ΑΔ. τί δ' ; ἦν θάνης σύ, πῶς ἐγὼ σωθήσομαι;
- ΙΟ. παιδὸς μελήσει παισὶ τοῖς λελειμμένοις.
- ΑΔ. ἦν δ' οὖν, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, χρήσονται τύχη;
- ΙΟ. οἶδ' οὐ προδώσουσίν σε, μὴ τρέσης, ξένοι. 715
- ΑΔ. τοσόνδε γάρ τοι θάρσος, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἔχω.
- ΙΟ. καὶ Ζηνὶ τῶν σῶν, οἶδ' ἐγώ, μέλει πόνων.
- ΑΔ. φεῦ·  
 Ζεὺς ἐξ ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἀκούσεται κακῶς·  
 εἰ δ' ἐστὶν ὅσιος αὐτὸς οἶδεν εἰς ἐμέ.
- ΘΕ. ὄπλων μὲν ἤδη τήνδ' ὀρᾶς παντευχίαν, 720  
 φθάνοις δ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν τοῖσδε συγκρύπτων δέμας.  
 ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀγών, καὶ μάλιστ' Ἄρης στυγεῖ  
 μέλλοντας· εἰ δὲ τευχέων φοβῆ βάρος,  
 νῦν μὲν πορεύου γυμνός, ἐν δὲ τάξεσιν  
 κόσμῳ πυκάζου τῶδ'· ἐγὼ δ' οἴσω τέως. 725
- ΙΟ. καλῶς ἔλεξας· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πρόχειρ' ἔχων  
 τεύχη κόμιζε, χειρὶ δ' ἔνθεσ ὀξύην,  
 λαιόν τ' ἔπαιρε πῆχυν, εὐθύνων πόδα.
- ΘΕ. ἦ παιδαγωγεῖν γὰρ τὸν ὀπλίτην χρεῶν;
- ΙΟ. ὄρνηθος εἶνεκ' ἀσφαλῶς πορευτέου. 730
- ΘΕ. εἶθ' ἦσθα δυνατὸς δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ.
- ΙΟ. ἔπειγε· λειφθεὶς δεινὰ πείσομαι μάχης.
- ΘΕ. σύ τοι βραδύνεις, οὐκ ἐγώ, δοκῶν τι δρᾶν.
- ΙΟ. οὐκουν ὀρᾶς μου κῶλον ὡς ἐπείγεται;

710 τέκνου add. Vitelli

711 χρή apogr. Paris.: χρῆν LP

713 παισὶ Canter: πᾶσι LP

733 δοκῶν Tyrwhitt: δοκῶ LP

- ΘΕ. ὀρώ δοκοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ σπεύδοντά σε. 735
- ΙΟ. οὐ ταῦτα λέξεις, ἡνίκ' ἂν λεύσσης μ' ἐκεῖ—
- ΘΕ. τί δρῶντα; βουλοίμην δ' ἂν εὐτυχοῦντά γε.
- ΙΟ. δι' ἀσπίδος θείοντα πολεμίων τινά.
- ΘΕ. εἰ δὴ ποθ' ἤξομέν γε· τοῦτο γὰρ φόβος.
- ΙΟ. φεῦ·  
 εἴθ', ὦ βραχίων, οἶον ἠβήσαντά σε 740  
 μεμνήμεθ' ἡμεῖς, ἡνίκα ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ  
 Σπάρτην ἐπόρθεις, σύμμαχος γένοιό μοι  
 τοιοῦτος· οἶος ἂν τροπήν Εὐρυσθέως  
 θείμην· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ κακὸς μένειν δόρυ.  
 ἔστιν δ' ἐν ὄλβῳ καὶ τόδ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχον, 745  
 εὐψυχίας δόκησις· οἴόμεσθα γὰρ  
 τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς.
- ΧΟ. γὰ καὶ παννύχιος σελά- στρ. α  
 να καὶ λαμπρόταται θεοῦ  
 φαεσίμβροτοι ἀνγαί, 750  
 ἀγγελίαν μοι ἐνέγκαιτ'·  
 ἰαχήσατε δ' οὐρανῷ  
 καὶ παρὰ θρόνον ἀρχέταν  
 γλαυκᾶς ἐν Ἀθάνας.  
 μέλλω τᾶς πατριώτιδος 755  
 γᾶς, μέλλω καὶ ὑπὲρ δόμων  
 ἰκέτας ὑποδεχθεῖς  
 κίνδυνον πολιῷ τεμεῖν σιδάρῳ.

- 736 οὐ Heath: σὺ LP                      738 θείοντα Elmsley: θένοντα LP
- 743 οἶος Barnes: οἶος LP                      744 θείμην Cobet: θείην LP
- 750 φαεσιμβρότου Musgrave                      751 ἐνέγκαιτ' Hermann: ἐνέγκατ' LP
- 754 γλαυκᾶς... Ἀθάνας Schaefer (τ' del. Matthiae): γλαυκᾶ τ'... Ἀθάνα LP
- 756 καὶ ὑπὲρ Nauck: καὶ περὶ LP: περὶ τῶν l

δεινὸν μὲν πόλιν ὡς Μυκή- ἀντ. α  
 νας εὐδαίμονα καὶ δορὸς 760

πολυαίνεται ἀλκᾷ  
 μῆνιν ἐμᾷ χθονὶ κεύθειν·  
 κακὸν δ', ὦ πόλις, εἰ ξένους  
 ἰκτῆρας παραδώσομεν  
 κελεύμασιν Ἄργους. 765

Ζεὺς μοι ξύμμαχος, οὐ φοβοῦ-  
 μαι, Ζεὺς μοι χάριν ἐνδίκως  
 ἔχει· οὐποτε θνατῶν  
 ἦσσοις <δαίμονες> ἔκ γ' ἐμοῦ φανοῦνται.

ἀλλ', ὦ πότνια, σὸν γὰρ οὐ- στρ. β 770  
 δας γὰς [σὸν] καὶ πόλις, ἄς σὺ μά-  
 τηρ δέσποινά τε καὶ φύλαξ,  
 πόρευσον ἄλλα τὸν οὐ δικαίως  
 τᾶδ' ἐπάγοντα δορυσσοῦν  
 στρατὸν Ἄργόθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμᾷ γ' ἀρετᾷ 775  
 δίκαιός εἰμ' ἐκπεσεῖν μελάθρων.

ἐπεὶ σοι πολύθυτος αἰὲ ἀντ. β  
 τιμὰ κραίνεται, οὐδὲ λά-  
 θει μηνῶν φθινὰς ἀμέρα,  
 νέων τ' αἰοδαὶ χορῶν τε μολπαί. 780  
 ἀνεμόεντι δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ  
 ὀλολύγματα παννυχίοις ὑπὸ παρ-  
 θένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοισιν.

761 πολυαίνεται Canter: πολυαινέτου LP 762 ἐμᾷ Canter: ἐμέ I.P  
 765 κελεύμασιν Ἄργους Reiske: καὶ λεύσιμον Ἄργος LP 769 δαίμονες  
 add. Kirchhoff | ἔκ γ' Kirchhoff: εἴτ' LP 771 σὸν del. ed. 773 ἄλλα  
 Canter: ἀλλὰ LP 774 δορυσσοῦν Kirchhoff: δορύσσοντα LP 777 ἐπεὶ  
 apogr. Paris.: ἐπὶ LP 780 νέων Barnes: ναῶν LP, νεῶν l

## ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

- ΑΓ. δέσποινα, μύθους σοί τε συντομωτάτους  
κλύειν ἐμοί τε τῷδε καλλίστους φέρω. 785  
νικῶμεν ἐχθρούς καὶ τροπαί' ἰδρύεται  
παντευχίαν ἔχοντα πολεμίων σέθεν.
- ΑΔ. ὦ φίλταθ', ἦδε σ' ἡμέρα διήγαγεν  
ἠλευθερώσθαι τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀγγέλμασιν.  
μιάς δ' ἐμ' οὐπω συμφορᾶς ἐλευθεροῖς· 790  
φόβος γὰρ εἶ μοι ζῶσιν οὓς ἐγὼ θέλω.
- ΑΓ. ζῶσιν μέγιστόν γ' εὐκλειεῖς κατὰ στρατόν.
- ΑΔ. ὁ μὲν γέρων οὖν ἐστὶν Ἴόλεως τάδε;
- ΑΓ. μάλιστα, πράξας γ' ἐκ θεῶν κάλλιστα δή.
- ΑΔ. τί δ' ἔστι; μῶν τι κεδνὸν ἠγωνίζετο; 795
- ΑΓ. νέος μεθέστηκε ἐκ γέροντος αὐθις αὐ.
- ΑΔ. θαυμάστ' ἔλεξας· ἀλλὰ σ' εὐτυχῆ φίλων  
μάχης ἀγῶνα πρῶτον ἀγγεῖλαι θέλω.
- ΑΓ. εἰς μου λόγος σοι πάντα σημανεῖ τάδε.  
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοισιν ὀπλίτην στρατόν 800  
κατὰ στόμ' ἐκτείνοντες ἀντετάξαμεν,  
ἐκβὰς τεθρίππων Ἕλλος ἀρμάτων πόδα,  
ἔστη μέσοισιν ἐν μεταιχμίοις δορός.  
κᾶπειτ' ἔλεξεν, ὦ στρατήγ', ὃς Ἀργόθεν  
ἦκεις, τί τήνδε γαῖαν οὐκ εἶάσαμεν 805  
· · · · ·  
· · · · ·

784—883 ΑΓ. Rassow: ΘΕ. LP 788 διήγαγεν Elmsley: διήλασεν  
LP 793 οὖν Elmsley: οὐκ LP | τάδε ed.: ὅδε LP, ἔτι Elmsley  
794 γ' Elmsley: δ' LP | κάλλιστα corr. apogr. Paris.: μάλιστα LP  
799 σημανεῖ Elmsley: σημαίνει LP 805 τί Heath: ἐπὶ L, ἐπεὶ P |  
εἶάσαμεν Elmsley: εἶα σὰ μὲν LP After 805 lacuna marked by Heath

καὶ τὰς Μυκῆνας οὐδὲν ἐργάσῃ κακὸν  
 ἀνδρὸς στερήσας· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μόνος μόνῳ  
 μάχην συνάψας, ἢ κτανῶν ἄγου λαβῶν  
 τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας, ἢ θανῶν ἐμοὶ  
 τιμὰς πατρώους καὶ δόμους ἔχειν ἄφες. 810  
 στρατὸς δ' ἐπήνεσ', ἔς τ' ἀπαλλαγὰς πόνων  
 καλῶς λελέχθαι μῦθον ἔς τ' εὐψυχίαν.  
 ὁ δ' οὔτε τοὺς κλύοντας αἰδεσθεῖς λόγων  
 οὔτ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δειλίαν στρατηγὸς ὦν  
 ἐλθεῖν ἐτόλμησ' ἐγγὺς ἀλκίμου δορός, 815  
 ἀλλ' ἦν κάκιστος· εἶτα τοιοῦτος γεγῶς  
 τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ἦλθε δουλώσων γόνους;  
 Ὕλλος μὲν οὖν ἀπόφχετ' ἐς τάξιν πάλιν·  
 μάντις δ', ἐπειδὴ μονομάχου δι' ἀσπίδος  
 διαλλαγὰς ἔγνωσαν οὐ τελουμένας, 820  
 ἔσφαζον, οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ἀφίεσαν  
 λαιμῶν βροτείων εὐθύς οὔριον φόνον.  
 οἱ δ' ἄρματ' εἰσέβαινον, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀσπίδων  
 πλευροῖς ἔκρυπτον πλευρ'. Ἀθηναίων δ' ἀναξ  
 στρατῷ παρήγγελλ' οἷα χρῆ τὸν εὐγενῆ· 825  
 ὦ ξυμπολῖται, τῇ τε βοσκούσῃ χθονὶ  
 καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ νῦν τιν' ἀρκέσαι χρεῶν.  
 ὁ δ' αὖ τό τ' Ἄργος μὴ καταισχῦναι θέλει  
 καὶ τὰς Μυκῆνας συμμάχους ἐλίσσετο.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμην' ὄρθιον Τυρσηνικῇ 830  
 σάλπιγγι, καὶ συνῆψαν ἀλλήλοις μάχην,  
 πόσον τιν' αὐχεῖς πάταγον ἀσπίδων βρέμειν,

808 μάχην Reiske: μάχη LP      813 λόγων ed. Hervag. altera :  
 λόγω LP      824 πλευροῖς Elmsley: πλευραῖς LP      828 θέλειν Reiske:  
 θέλων LP

πόσον τινὰ στεναγμὸν οἰμωγὴν θ' ὁμοῦ;  
 τὰ πρῶτα μὲν νυν πίτυλος Ἀργείου δορὸς  
 ἐρρήξαθ' ἡμᾶς· εἶτ' ἐχώρησαν πάλιν. 835  
 τὸ δεύτερον δὲ πούς ἐπαλλαχθεὶς ποδί,  
 ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ στας ἐκαρτέρει μάχη·  
 πολλοὶ δ' ἔπιπτον. ἦν δὲ †τοῦ κελεύματος†,  
 ᾧ τὰς Ἀθήνας—ᾧ τὸν Ἀργείων γύην  
 σπείρουτες, οὐκ ἀρήξετ' αἰσχύνην πόλει; 840  
 μόλις δὲ πάντα δρῶντες οὐκ ἄτερ πόνων  
 ἐτρεψάμεσθ' Ἀργείου ἐς φυγὴν δόρυ.  
 κἀνταῦθ' ὁ πρέσβυς Ὕλλον ἐξορμώμενον  
 ἰδὼν, ὀρέξας ἰκέτευσε δεξιᾶν  
 Ἴόλαος ἐμβῆσαι νιν ἵππειον δίφρον. 845  
 λαβὼν δὲ χερσὶν ἠγίας Εὐρυσθέως  
 πῶλοις ἐπέιχε. τὰπὸ τοῦδ' ἤδη κλύων  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄλλων, δεῦρο δ' αὐτὸς εἰσιδὼν.  
 Παλληνίδος γὰρ σεμνὸν ἐκπερῶν πάγον  
 δίας Ἀθάνας, ἄρμ' ἰδὼν Εὐρυσθέως, 850  
 ἠράσαθ' Ἥβη Ζηνί θ', ἡμέραν μίαν  
 νέος γενέσθαι κάποτείσασθαι δίκην  
 ἐχθρούς· κλύειν δὲ θαύματος πάρεστί σοι.  
 δισσῶ γὰρ ἀστέρ' ἵππικοῖς ἐπὶ ζυγοῖς  
 σταθέντ' ἔκρυσαν ἄρμα λυγαίῳ νέφει. 855  
 σὸν δὲ λέγουσι παῖδά γ' οἱ σοφώτεροι  
 Ἥβην θ'· ὃ δ' ὄρφνης ἐκ δυσαιθρίου νέων  
 βραχιόνων ἔδειξεν ἠβητὴν τύπον.  
 αἰρεῖ δ' ὁ κλεινὸς Ἴόλεως Εὐρυσθέως

838 corrupt: see Comm.

848 λέγοιμ' ἂν Valckenaer: λέγοι μὲν

L: λέγει μὲν P | ἄλλων Elmsley: ἄλλος LP 854 ἐπὶ Reiske: ὑπὸ LP

857 ἐκδὺς αἰθρίου LP: corr. Musgrave 859 Ἴόλεως Victorius: πόλεως LP



τέτρωρον ἄρμα πρὸς πέτραις Σκιρωνίσι, 860  
 δεσμοῖς τε δῆσας χεῖρας ἀκροθίνιον  
 κάλλιστον ἦκει τὸν στρατηλάτην ἄγων,  
 τὸν ὄλβιον πάροιθε. τῇ δὲ νῦν τύχη  
 βροτοῖς ἅπασι λαμπρὰ κηρύσσει μαθεῖν,  
 τὸν εὐτυχεῖν δοκοῦντα μὴ ζηλοῦν, πρὶν ἂν 865  
 θανόντ' ἴδῃ τις· ὡς ἐφήμεροι τύχαι.

Χο. ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαίε, νῦν ἐμοὶ δεινοῦ φόβου  
 ἐλεύθερον πάρεστιν ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν.

Αλ. ὦ Ζεῦ, χρόνῳ μὲν τᾶμ' ἐπεσκέψω κακά,  
 χάριν δ' ὅμως σοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔχω· 870  
 καὶ παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν πρόσθεν οὐ δοκοῦσ' ἐγὼ  
 θεοῖς ὀμιλεῖν νῦν ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς.

ὦ τέκνα, νῦν δὴ νῦν ἐλεύθεροι πόνων,  
 ἐλεύθεροι δὲ τοῦ κακῶς ὄλουμένου  
 Εὐρυσθέως ἔσεσθε καὶ πόλιν πατρὸς 875  
 ὄψεσθε, κλήρους δ' ἐμβατεύσετε χθονός,  
 καὶ θεοῖς πατράοις θύσεθ', ὧν ἀπειργμένοι  
 ξένοι πλανήτην εἶχετ' ἄθλιον βίον.

ἀτὰρ τί κεύθων Ἰόλεως σοφὸν ποτε  
 Εὐρυσθέως ἐφείσαθ' ὥστε μὴ κτανεῖν; 880  
 λέξον· παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ οὐ σοφὸν τόδε,  
 ἐχθροὺς λαβόντα μὴ ἀποτείσασθαι δίκην.

ΑΓ. τὸ σὸν προτιμῶν, ὡς νιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδοις  
 †κρατοῦντα† καὶ σῆ δεσποτούμενον χερσί.  
 οὐ μὴν ἐκόντα γ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς βίαν 885  
 ἔζευξ' ἀνάγκη· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐβούλετο  
 ζῶν ἐς σὸν ἐλθεῖν ὄμμα καὶ δοῦναι δίκην.

ἀλλ', ὦ γεραιά, χαῖρε, καὶ μέμνησό μοι  
 ὃ πρῶτον εἶπας, ἠνίκ' ἤρχόμην λόγου,  
 ἐλευθερώσειν μ'. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιοῖσδε χρῆ 890  
 ἀψευδὲς εἶναι τοῖσι γενναίοις στόμα.

Χο. ἐμοὶ χορὸς μὲν ἡδύς, εἰ λίγεια στρ. α  
 λωτοῦ χάρις †εὐνι δαι†,  
 εἴη τ' εὐχάρις Ἀφροδίτα·  
 τερπνὸν δέ τι καὶ φίλων ἄρ' 895  
 εὐτυχίαν ἰδέσθαι  
 τῶν πάρος οὐ δοκούντων.  
 πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτει  
 Μοῖρα τελεσσιδώτερ'  
 Αἰῶν τε Χρόνου παῖς. 900

ἔχεις ὀδόν τιν', ὦ πόλις, δίκαιον— ἀντ. α  
 οὐ χρῆ ποτε τοῦδ' ἀφέσθαι,  
 τιμᾶν θεούς· ὁ δὲ μὴ σε φάσκων  
 ἐγγὺς μανιῶν ἐλαύνει,  
 δεικνυμένων ἐλέγχων 905  
 τῶνδ'· ἐπίσημα γάρ τοι  
 θεὸς παραγέλλει,  
 τῶν ἀδίκων παραιρῶν  
 φρονήματος αἰεὶ.

ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βεβακῶς στρ. β 910  
 τεὸς γόνος, ὦ γεραιά·

888 μοι Reiske: μου LP      890 ἐλευθερώσειν Porson: ἐλευθέρωσον  
 LP      893 δαι† Canter      894 τ' Elmsley: δ' LP      902 ἀφέσθαι  
 Herwerden: ἀφελέσθαι LP      911 τεὸς corr. apogr. Paris.: θεὸς LP

φεύγει λόγον ὡς τὸν Ἴλιδα  
 δόμον κατέβα, πυρᾶς  
 δεινᾶ φλογὶ σῶμα δαισθεῖς,  
 Ἴβας τ' ἐρατὸν χροίζει  
 λέχος χρυσέαν κατ' αὐλάν.  
 ὦ Ἰμέλαιε, δισσοὺς  
 παῖδας Διὸς ἠξιώσας.

915

συμφέρεται τὰ πολλὰ πολλοῖς·  
 καὶ γὰρ πατρὶ τῶνδ' Ἀθάναν  
 λέγουσ' ἐπικούρον εἶναι,  
 καὶ τούσδε θεᾶς πόλις  
 καὶ λαὸς ἔσωσε κείνας,  
 ἔσχευ δ' ὕβριν ἀνδρός, ᾧ θυ-  
 μὸς ἦν πρὸ δίκας βίαιος.  
 μήποτ' ἐμοὶ φρόνημα  
 ψυχά τ' ἀκόρεστος εἶη.

ἀντ. β

920

925

ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ.

δέσποιν', ὀρᾶς μὲν, ἀλλ' ὁμως εἰρήσεται,  
 Εὐρυσθέα σοι τόνδ' ἄγοντες ἤκομεν,  
 ἄελπτου ὄψιν, τῷδέ τ' οὐχ ἠῆσσαν τύχην·  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἠὔχει χεῖρας ἴξασθαι σέθεν,  
 ὅτ' ἐκ Μυκηνῶν πολυπόνῳ σὺν ἀσπίδι  
 ἔστειχε μείζον τῆς δίκης φρονῶν πολύ,

930

913 πυρᾶς Wecklein: πυρὸς LP 915 ἐρατὸν apogr. Paris.: ἐραστὸν LP 924 ἔσχευ δ' ὕβριν Heath: ἔσχε δ' ὕβρεις LP 928 ΘΕ. Rassow: ΑΓ. LP 930 τῷδε Canter: τῶνδε LP | τύχην Stephanus: τυχεῖν LP 932 πολυπόνῳ Hermann: πολυπόνων LP | ἀσπίδι Hermann: ἀσπίσω LP 933 μείζον Cobet: μείζω LP | πόλιν Jacobs

πέρσων Ἀθήνας. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν  
δαίμων ἔθηκε, καὶ μετέστησεν τύχην. 935

Ἔλλος μὲν οὖν ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἰόλεως βρέτας  
Διὸς τροπαίου καλλίνικον ἴστασαν·  
ἐμοὶ δὲ πρὸς σὲ τόνδ' ἐπιστέλλουσ' ἄγειν,  
τέρψαι θέλοντες σὴν φρέν'. ἐκ γὰρ εὐτυχούς  
ἠδιστον ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα δυστυχοῦνθ' ὀράν. 940

Α. ὦ μῖσος, ἦκεις; εἰλέ σ' ἡ Δίκη χρόνῳ;  
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι δεῦρ' ἐπίστρεψον κᾶρα,  
καὶ τλῆθι τοὺς σοὺς προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον  
ἐχθρούς· κρατῆ γὰρ νῦν γε κοῦ κρατεῖς ἔτι.  
ἐκείνος εἶ σύ, βούλομαι γὰρ εἰδέναι, 945  
ὃς πολλὰ μὲν τὸν ὄνθ' ὄπου 'στὶ νῦν ἐμὸν  
παῖδ' ἠξίωσας, ὦ πανοῦργ', ἐφυβρίσαι;  
ὔδρας λέοντάς τ' ἐξαπολλύναι λέγων 950  
ἔπεμπες. ἄλλα δ' οἷ' ἐμηχανῶ κακά— 951  
τί γὰρ σὺ κείνον οὐκ ἔτλης καθυβρίσαι;  
948 ὃς καὶ παρ' Ἀιδην ζῶντά νιν κατήγαγες— 949  
σιγῶ· μακρὸς γὰρ μῦθος ἂν γένοιτό μοι.  
κοῦκ ἤρκεσέν σοι ταῦτα τολμῆσαι μόνον,  
ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπάσης κἀμὲ καὶ τέκν' Ἑλλάδος  
ἠλαυνες ἰκέτας δαιμόνων καθήμενους, 955  
τοὺς μὲν γέροντας, τοὺς δὲ νηπίους ἔτι.  
ἀλλ' ἠὔρες ἄνδρας καὶ πόλισμ' ἐλεύθερον,  
οἷ σ' οὐκ ἔδεισαν. δεῖ σε κατθανεῖν κακῶς,  
καὶ κερδανεῖς ἅπαντα· χρῆν γὰρ οὐχ ἄπαξ  
θνήσκειν σὲ πολλὰ πῆματ' ἐξειργασμένοι. 960

937 ἴστασαν Elmsley: ἔστασαν LP 943 ἐναντίον Elmsley: ἐναν-  
τίους LP 948, 949 transposed by ed. 949 Ἀιδην Aldus: ἄδη LP  
959 χρῆν Reiske: χρῆ LP

- ΘΕ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνυστὸν τόνδε σοι κατακτανεῖν.  
 ΑΛ. ἄλλως ἄρ' αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον εἴλομεν.  
 εἶργει δὲ δὴ τίς τόνδε μὴ θανεῖν νόμος;  
 ΘΕ. τοῖς τῆσδε χώρας προστάταισιν οὐ δοκεῖ.  
 ΑΛ. τί δὴ τόδ'; ἐχθροὺς τοισίδ' οὐ καλὸν κτανεῖν; 965  
 ΘΕ. οὐχ ὄντιν' ἂν γε ζῶνθ' ἔλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.  
 ΑΛ. καὶ ταῦτα δόξανθ' Ἵλλος ἐξηνέσχετο;  
 ΘΕ. χρῆν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τῆδ' ἀπιστήσαι χθονί.  
 ΑΛ. χρῆν τόνδε μὴ ζῆν μηδ' ἔτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος.  
 ΘΕ. τότ' ἠδικήθη πρῶτον οὐ θανῶν ὄδε. 970  
 ΑΛ. οὐκ οὖν ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἐν καλῶ δουῖναι δίκην;  
 ΘΕ. οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ὅστις ἂν κατακτάνοι.  
 ΑΛ. ἔγωγε· καίτοι φημὶ κἄμ' εἶναι τινα.  
 ΘΕ. πολλὴν ἄρ' ἔξεις μέμψιν, εἰ δράσεις τόδε.  
 ΑΛ. φιλῶ πόλιν τήνδ'· οὐδὲν ἀντιλεκτέον. 975  
 τοῦτον δ', ἐπεὶ περ χεῖρας ἦλθεν εἰς ἐμάς,  
 οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται.  
 πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν θρασεῖαν ὅστις ἂν θέλῃ  
 καὶ τὴν φρονούσαν μείζου ἢ γυναῖκα χρῆ  
 λέξει· τὸ δ' ἔργον τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ πεπράξεται. 980  
 ΧΟ. δεινόν τι καὶ συγγνωστόν, ὦ γύναι, σ' ἔχει  
 νεῖκος πρὸς ἄνδρα τόνδε, γιγνώσκω καλῶς.

ΕΤΡΤΣΘΕΤΣ.

γύναι, σάφ' ἴσθι μὴ με θωπεύσοντά σε,  
 μηδ' ἄλλο μηδὲν τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πέρι  
 λέξουσθ' ὅθεν χρῆ δειλίαν ὀφλεῖν τινα. 985

961—972 see Comm. 968 χρῆν δ' LP: corr. Bothe 969 ἔτ'  
 εἰσορᾶν φάος Erfurdt: ὀρᾶν φάος ἔτι LP 973 καὶ τί φημὶ κἂν μείναι  
 τινα LP: corr. Tyrwhitt

ἐγὼ δὲ νεῖκος οὐχ ἑκὼν τόδ' ἠράμην·  
 ἤδη γε σοὶ μὲν αὐτανέψιος γεγώς,  
 τῷ σῷ δὲ παιδὶ συγγενῆς Ἑρακλέει.  
 ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἔχρηζον εἴτε μή, θεὸς γὰρ ἦν,  
 "Ἡρα με κάμνειν τήνδ' ἔθηκε τὴν νόσον. 990  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ δυσμένειαν ἠράμην  
 κἀγνων ἀγῶνα τόνδ' ἀγωνιούμενος,  
 πολλῶν σοφιστῆς πημάτων ἐγιγνόμην,  
 καὶ πόλλ' ἔτικτον νυκτὶ συνθακῶν αἰεὶ  
 ὅπως διώσας καὶ κατακτείνας ἐμούς 995  
 ἐχθροὺς τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ συνοικοίην φόβῳ,  
 εἰδὼς μὲν οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλ' ἐτητύμῳς  
 ἄνδρ' ὄντα τὸν σὸν παῖδα· καὶ γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν  
 ἀκούσεται γοῦν ἐσθλά, χρηστὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ.  
 κείνου δ' ἀπαλλαχθέντος οὐκ ἐχρῆν μ' ἄρα 1000  
 μισούμενον πρὸς τῶνδε καὶ ξυνειδότα  
 ἐχθραν πατρώαν, πάντα κινήσαι πέτρον,  
 κτείνοντα κἀκβάλλοντα καὶ τεχνώμενον;  
 τοιαῦτα δρῶντι τᾶμ' ἐγίγνετ' ἀσφαλῆ.  
 οὐκουν σύ γ' ἀναλαβοῦσα τὰς ἐμὰς τύχας 1005  
 ἐχθροῦ λέοντος δυσμενῆ βλαστήματα  
 ἤλαυνες ἂν κακοῖσιν, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως  
 εἶσας οἰκεῖν Ἄργος; οὔτιν' ἂν πίθοις.  
 νῦν οὖν ἐπειδὴ μ' οὐ διώλεσαν τότε  
 πρόθυμον ὄντα, τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις 1010  
 οὐχ ἄγνός εἰμι τῷ κτανόντι κατθανῶν·  
 πόλις τ' ἀφῆκε σωφρονοῦσα, τὸν θεὸν

988 Ἑρακλέει Elmsley: Ἑρακλέϊ LP 999 γοῦν Headlam: γ' LP

1004 τᾶμ' ἐγίγνετ' Musgrave: τὰμὰ γίγνετ' LG 1006 δυσμενῆ  
Stephanus: δυσγενῆ LG

μείζον τίουσα τῆς ἐμῆς ἔχθρας πολύ.

ἄ γ' εἶπας ἀντήκουσας· ἐντεύθεν δὲ χρῆ  
τὸν προστρόπαιον τόν τε γενναῖον καλεῖν. 1015

οὕτω γε μέντοι τᾶμ' ἔχει· θανεῖν μὲν οὐ  
χρήζω, λιπὼν δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἀχθοίμην βίον.

ΧΟ. παραινέσαι σοι σμικρόν, Ἄλκμήνη, θέλω,  
τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀφείναι τόνδ', ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ πόλει.

ΑΔ. τί δ', ἦν θάνῃ τε καὶ πόλει πιθώμεθα; 1020

ΧΟ. τὰ λῶστ' ἂν εἶῃ· πῶς τὰδ' οὖν γενήσεται;

ΑΔ. ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως· κτανούσα γὰρ  
τόνδ' εἶτα νεκρὸν τοῖς μετελθοῦσιν φίλων  
δώσω· τὸ γὰρ σῶμ' οὐκ ἀπιστήσω χθονί,  
οὗτος δὲ δώσει τὴν δίκην θανῶν ἐμοί. 1025

ΕΥ. κτεῖν', οὐ παραιτοῦμαί σε· τήνδε δὲ πτόλιν,  
ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφῆκε καὶ κατηδέσθη κτανεῖν,  
χρησμῶ παλαιῶ Λοξίου δωρήσομαι,  
ὃς ὠφελήσει μείζον ἢ δοκεῖ χρόνῳ.

θανόντα γὰρ με θάψεθ' οὐ τὸ μόρσιμον, 1030  
δίας πάροιθε παρθένου Παλληνίδος·

καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὖνους καὶ πόλει σῴτήριος  
μέτοικος αἰεὶ κείσομαι κατὰ χθονός,  
τοῖς τῶνδε δ' ἐκγόνοισι πολεμιώτατος,  
ὅταν μόλωσι δεῦρο σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ 1035

χάριν προδόντες τήνδε· τοιούτων ξένων  
προύστητε. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ πεπυσμένος  
δεῦρ' ἦλθον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρησμὸν ἠζόμην θεοῦ;

1014 ἄ γ' Hermann: πρὸς ᾧ corr. to πρὸς ἄ γ' L: πρὸς ἄ γ' G

1016 ἔχει Aldus: ἔχεις LG 1020 ἦν...πιθώμεθα Elmsley: ἂν...

πειθώμεθα LG 1026 δὲ πτόλιν Elmsley: δὴ πόλιν LG 1029 μείζον'

LG | δοκεῖ Wecklein: δοκεῖν LG 1038 ἠζόμην Cobet: ἠρόμην LG

Ἦραν νομίζων θεσφάτων κρείσσω πολύ,  
 κούκ ἂν προδοῦναί μ'. ἀλλὰ μήτε μοι χοῶς 1040  
 μήθ' αἰμ' ἐάσης εἰς ἐμὸν στάξαι τάφον.  
 κακὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόστον ἀντὶ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ  
 δώσω· διπλοῦν δὲ κέρδος ἔξετ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ,  
 ὑμᾶς τ' ὀνήσω τούσδε τε βλάβω θανών.

ΑΔ. τί δῆτα μέλλετ', εἰ πόλει σωτηρίαν 1045  
 κτεργάσασθαι τοῖσί τ' ἐξ ὑμῶν χρεῶν,  
 κτείνειν τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ', ἀκούοντες τάδε;  
 δείκνυσι γὰρ κέλευθον ἀσφαλεστάτην·  
 ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ, ὠφελεῖ δὲ κατθανών.  
 κομίζετ' αὐτόν, δμῶες, εἶτα χρῆ κυσὶν 1050  
 δοῦναι κτανόντας· μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης ὅπως  
 αὐθις πατρώας ζῶν ἔμ' ἐκβαλεῖς χθονός.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

Χο. ταῦτὰ δοκεῖ μοι. στείχετ', ὀπαδοί.  
 τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν  
 καθαρῶς ἔσται βασιλευσιν. 1055

1039 νομίζων Barnes: νομίζω LG

1041 τάφον Heath: τόπον LG

1046 ὑμῶν apogr. Paris.: ἡμῶν LG  
 lacuna

After 1052 Hermann marked a



## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. **ὁ μὲν κ.τ.λ.**: *one man is just to his neighbours.* *δίκαιος ἀνὴρ* is predicate. The view that *ὁ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ* is the subject—‘the just man is born for his neighbours’—is untenable, not so much as interfering with the parallelism between the clauses, as because of the position of *ἀνὴρ* and the harshness of *πεφυκέναι τοῖς πέλας* in the sense required. In *Alc.* 685 *σαντῶ γὰρ εἶτε δυστυχῆς εἶτ’ εὐτυχῆς ἔφες* the presence of the adjectives makes all the difference.

**τοῖς πέλας**: ‘others’ generally, not limited to relatives or friends. The phrase is copiously illustrated by Elmsley on *Med.* 85.

3. **ἐς τὸ κέρδος...ἀνειμένον**: *devoted to gain.* The phrase denotes ‘to be set free over a certain range,’ and implies that the liberty given is restricted within such limits. It is found in Herodotus (II 165 etc.) and late prose, with a tendency to be used of licentious excess: *Plut. Fab. Max.* 5 *ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἀνειμένως*, *Athen.* p. 9 C *τοὺς μνηστήρας ὑβριστὰς ὄντας καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀνειμένους.* Earle’s *ἀνημμένον* (*C. R.* VII 344) is unnecessary.

4. **πόλει** contrasts public life with private dealings (*συναλλάσσειν*). Elmsley shows that this is characteristic, quoting fr. 429 *ὅστις γὰρ ἀστῶν πλεον ἔχειν πέφυκ’ ἀνὴρ, οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον οὐδὲ βούλεται, φίλοις τ’ ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ πόλει.*—Note that *συναλλάσσειν βαρὺς* = dangerous (for others) to deal with. See Goodw. § 763, who quotes *Plat. polit.* 302 E *ἄνομος δὲ (μοναρχία) χαλεπὴ καὶ βαρυτάτη ξυνοικῆσαι.*

5. **οὐ λόγῳ μαθὼν**: *i.e.* I know by my own experience, not on hearsay. Observe the ironical understatement (meiosis), and contrast *Herod.* V 24 *τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι, ἀλλ’ ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθὼν.*

6. **αἰδοῖ**, instr. dat. of cause, balances the participle: ‘impelled by honour and regard for kindred.’ For such variations cf. inf. 194,

*Andr.* 947 ff., *Soph. Ai.* 177 ἡ ῥα κλυτῶν ἐνάρων ψευθεῖσ', ἀδώροις εἶτ' ἐλαφηβολίαις, *Thuc.* I 49 οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπελύοντο ὑπὸ τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες κ.τ.λ.—αἰδώς has manifold aspects; particularly, it is the sense of honour, which high birth and gentle breeding impart. *Alc.* 601 τὸ γὰρ εὐγενὲς ἐκφέρεται πρὸς αἰδῶ, *Sufl.* 911 τὸ γὰρ τραφῆναι μὴ κακῶς αἰδῶ φέρεται. *Matthiae* well remarks:—αἰδώς est pudor quo a rebus turpibus prohibemur, non pudor ob res turpes patratas.

7. **ἔξόν**: acc. abs. (*Goodw.* § 851).

8. **εἰς** is introduced to strengthen *πλείστων* by way of antithesis. The exact force is:—'I more than any other shared with Heracles in countless toils.' Cf. *Or.* 743 ποῦ'στιν ἡ πλείστους Ἀχαιῶν ὤλεσεν γυνή μία; *Soph. O. C.* 563 χῶς εἰς πλείστ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ξένης ἤθλησα κινδυνεύματ' ἐν τῶμῳ κάρῃ, *Thuc.* VIII 68. Observe that the contrast between *εἰς* and *πλείστος* in this idiom is only rhetorical: in *Thuc.* VIII 40 οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ μᾶ γε πόλει πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πλείστοι γενόμενοι there is no intention to contrast Chios with a confederacy.

**Ἡρακλείει**: uncontracted, as in 988.

9. **κατ' οὐρανόν**: for the apotheosis cf. 910.

10. **ὑπὸ πτεροῖς**. The familiarity of this metaphor is shown by the use of *νεοσσός*. Cf. *Andr.* 441 ἡ καὶ νεοσσὸν τόνδ', ὑπὸ πτερῶν σπάσας; *H. F.* 71 οἱ θ' Ἡράκλειοι παῖδες, οὓς ὑπὸ πτεροῖς σφῆζω νεοσσούς ὄρνις ὡς ὑφειμένη, *Aesch. Eum.* 1001 Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας (of the Athenians).

11. **τάδε** is deictic, 'here.'

12. **γάρ** introduces the narrative.

13. **πρῶτον μὲν** is not answered by the usual *ἔπειτα*, but more sharply by *ἀλλά* in 14.

**ἤθελ'**, not *desired* but *determined* (of the will). Thus *θέλω* (*ἐθέλω*) is always used of the gods: *Dem.* 2. 20 ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε, *Od.* III 231 ῥεῖα θεὸς γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαῶσαι (= if it pleased him). So inf. 200.

14. **ἔξεδραμεν**: the verb *ἐκδιδράσκω* is not common, but occurs in *Herod.* and *Thuc.* It is a mistake to regard it as an undignified word or solely appropriate to runaway slaves.

**πόλις...οἴχεται**: *our home is lost*. So in *Dem.* 20. 106 νῦν δὲ (ὑβρίζειν)...ἐκείνά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, τὴν πόλιν, τὸ γένος, τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, τὰς ἐλπίδας it seems to mean 'my home' rather than

strictly 'my rights of citizenship,' which is the meaning required in Dem. 45. 81 *πόλις ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαυτῷ κτησάμενος*.

15. **φεύγομεν**: for the tense see Goodw. § 27.

16. **ἔξορίζοντες**. The regular meaning of this word is *to banish*, and the present passage stands alone. Little assistance can be derived from *Med.* 432, where *ὀρίσασα* may mean 'dividing,' nor is the analogy of *ἔξαμείβειν* (*Phoen.* 131) very close. Perhaps we should refer it to the principle noticed on *Hel.* 1325, that verbs expressing motion tend to become intransitive (cf. Munro on *Lucr.* 111 502). Then the accusative would resemble *egredi urbem*.

17. **τόδ'** looks forward to the explanation in 19.

19. **πυνθάνοιθ'** is past general (Goodw. § 532). Observe that *ἔξαιτεῖ* and *ἔξείργει* are historic presents, taking the place of imperfects, and that the latter verb has a *conative* force.

21. **προτεινῶν**: note the double circumstantial participle (*Hel.* 597 n.). 'Holding out that Argos was a city whose friendship or enmity must not be lightly treated.' With *σικκράν* scil. *οὔσαν*: Goodw. § 911. *θέσθαι* depends on *σικκράν* (cf. sup. 4). Murray follows Wilamowitz in reading *σικκρόν*, comparing *Andr.* 86. This is attractive, but not necessary. **τε=or**.

23. **τάπ' ἐμοῦ**: *the help which I could render*. Cf. inf. 1054, *Tro.* 74, 1154. In *Ion* 804, *H. F.* 189 *τάπ' ἐμοῦ* means 'what I have to say.' See also Jebb on *Soph. Ant.* 719, *O. C.* 1628, *Dem.* 8. 54.

28. **μή**, introducing a final clause (Goodw. § 315).

29. **ἴδεσθ'**: the middle occurs in dialogue elsewhere only at *Ion* 1279. See on *Hel.* 122.

30. **ἤμυνε** is aor. not imperfect: 'has not come to their aid.' For *συγγενῆς* see Argument, l. 1.

32. **Μαραθῶνα καὶ σύγκληρον χθόνα** describes what is known as the Marathonian tetrapolis, including the four townships of Marathon, Oenoe, Probalinthus and Tricorythus. They are said to have been founded by Xuthus, the son of Deucalion (*Strabo* VIII p. 383). The league was one of the old religious confederacies which can be traced as having existed in Attica before the *συνοικισμός* of Theseus (*Gilbert, Griech. Staats.* I p. 109). Marathon itself was a famous site of Heracles-worship (*Pausan.* I 15. 3). *σύγκληρον*, rendered *neighbouring*, is strictly 'having joint parcels,' i.e. the allotments in which belong to the same community. Wecklein's *σύγχορον* is no improvement.

καθεζόμεσθα is probably aorist.

33. βώμιοι: 196. The adj. of place is used where we should employ an adverbial phrase: so *θυραῖος*, *ἐφέστιος*, *ἐκτόπιος*, *ὑπόστεγος*, *πελάγιος*, etc.

34. *προσωφελῆσαι* depends on *ικέται καθεζόμεσθα*, equivalent in meaning to *ικετεύομεν*, and comes accordingly within the principle of Goodw. § 749. Cf. inf. 345, *I. A.* 1242. The subject is left vague, but may be gathered from the context.

36. *κλήρω λαχόντας*: the object of these words is to represent Athens as under a democratic constitution in the heroic times (cf. 424). We have the authority of Aristotle for the statement that Theseus was the first to introduce modifications of the monarchical principle in the direction of popular control (*Ath. pol.* 41. 2, cf. *Plut. Thes.* 25). There was also a tradition that Theseus was actually the founder of the democracy (*Isocr.* 12. 129, *Pausan.* 1 3. 3), and of this Eur. here avails himself by representing Demophon and Acamas as rulers chosen by lot from a privileged order, the family of Pandion: cf. *κληρωτοὶ ἐκ προκρίτων* (*Ath. pol.*). For the antiquity of the lot see Sandys on *Ath. pol.* 8. 1. Pandion was the father of Aegeus and grandfather of Theseus, but according to some authorities (*Plut. Thes.* 13) Aegeus was only the adopted son of Pandion, and this aggravated the hostility of the Pallantidae, his genuine descendants, to Theseus. Wilamowitz transposed 35 and 36 on the ground that Demophon was connected with the Heraclidae, not through Pandion but through Theseus, but inherited the tetrapolis through Lycus, son of Pandion. It is true that *κλήρω λαχόντας* might refer to a voluntary partition of the inherited lands among the descendants of Pandion (see e.g. *Bacchyl.* 10. 70); but Demophon is king of Athens throughout the play, and no distinction is made between Athens and Marathon.

37. ἐγγύς. Theseus and Heracles were sons of first cousins (*Plut. Thes.* 7); for Pelops was the grandfather of Alcmena and Aethra, the mother of Theseus. For the word cf. *Aesch. fr.* 155 οἱ θεῶν ἀγχισποροὶ, οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς, *Od.* 7. 205 ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἐγγύθεν εἰμέν.

38. τόνδ'... ὄρον is generally regarded as corrupt (see cr. n.). Wilamowitz, holding that the scene of the play is the ἀγορὰ ἐφορία (see on 70), renders *ad hunc terminum*, but the collocation of ὄρον and *τέρμονας* is awkward. τήνδ' ὁδόν, the vulgate reading, would

denote the *act of journeying* rather than the *road travelled*, so that the acc. would be strictly cognate: cf. *Tro.* 235, *Andr.* 1125. The easiest alteration would be to read *τόνδε θ' ἰκόμεσθ'*, as has already been suggested by Murray, with *ἄρον* = (the limit of) the precinct of *Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος*. This usage is familiar from inscriptions on boundary-stones and the like: *ἄρος Διός* (*Marm. Par. Epoch.* 4 *Z.* 7), *ἄρος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Κεφαλήθεν* (*C.I.A.* IV 2. 1074 b).

39. *δέ* is postponed, since *δυοῖν γερόντων* forms a unit (*Hel.* 688 n.)—‘by two aged leaders our flight is directed.’ The dative of the agent is rare except with the perf. pass., but cf. *Soph. Ai.* 539 *προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται*, *Ant.* 1218 *θεοῖσι κλέπτομαι*. Elmsley treats *φυγή* as concrete = *φυγάδες*, for which cf. *Aesch. Suppl.* 65 (Tucker).

40. *ἐγὼ*: *nominativus pendens*. The structure of these lines is closely paralleled by *Bacch.* 1131 *ἦν δὲ πᾶσ' ὁμοῦ βοή, ὃ μὲν στενάζων ... αἰ δ' ἠλάλαζον*, *Phoen.* 1462 *ἦν δ' ἔρις στρατηλάταις, οἱ μὲν πατάξαι... οἱ δ' εἰς ὄπλ' ἦσσαν*. Similarly *Aesch. Prom.* 201, *Soph. Ant.* 259.

*καλχαίνων*, lit. to be darkly troubled (in mind), from *κάλχη*, the purple limpet. For the curious history of the metaphor see Jebb on *Ant.* 20.

42. *ἔσωθε* = *ἔσω*, as often.

*ὑπηγκαλισμένη* is perf. middle, not passive. The use of the middle instead of the active (as in *Cycl.* 498) expresses Alcmena's own concern. A misunderstanding of passages like *Ar. Eccl.* 494 *πώγωνας ἐξηρτημένας* seems to have influenced the Latin idiom seen in Horace's *suspensi oculos*.

43. *σῶζει*: the finite verb takes the place of *σῶζουσα*, as in the passages quoted on 40. See also *Hel.* 188 (n.).

*αἰδούμεθα*: we shrink from young girls appearing in public (474). For the constr. Elmsley quotes *Phoen.* 510 *αἰσχύνομαι ἐλθόντα σὺν ὄπλοις τόνδε... τυχεῖν ἂν χρήξει*. The acc. with inf. stands in the place of the object to the main verb: so *Aesch. Theb.* 720 *πέφρικα τὸν ὠλεσίοικον θεόν... τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους κατάρας*, *Thuc.* VII 17 *ὅπως φυλάσσοιεν μηδένα ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιούσθαι*. In developed prose such constructions tend to give way before more precise forms of expression, such as the articular infinitive.

44. *ἐπιβωμισστατεῖν* is a strange compound. Murray refers to 161, 495.

45. **πρεσβεύει γένος**, lit. whose age is more advanced. Cf. *Il.* III 215 ἦ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν. Elmsley adds γένει μέγαν from Soph. fr. 148.

46. **ὄπου κ.τ.λ.**, 'where we can establish a stronghold.' For the metaphorical sense of πύργος cf. *Alc.* 311 καὶ παῖς μὲν ἄρσην πατέρ' ἔχει πύργον μέγαν, *Med.* 390 ἦν μὲν τις ἡμῖν πύργος ἀσφαλῆς φανῆ. γῆς is partitive gen. after ὄπου.

48. **δεῦρο** with an imperative following as in *I. A.* 1377 δεῦρο δὴ σκέψαι μεθ' ἡμῶν.

49. **ὀρώ**. The asyndeton is impressive and marks his agitation.

51. **ἀπεστερημένοι** does not imply the infringement of a right, but simply the loss of a refuge. ἀλήται: exiles, as having no fixed home (πόλις).

53. **ὡς** should not be changed to **ὅς** (Elmsley), nor should a colon be placed after ἀνῆρ, as if ὡς were detached from the previous clause. It should be connected with ὄλοιο, and is equivalent to **ὄτι οὕτως**. A good example is *I. T.* 1180 σοφὴν σ' ἔθρεψεν Ἑλλάς, ὡς ἦσθου καλῶς: and see on *Hel.* 624.

**δὴ** emphasises **πολλὰ**.

54. **ἡγγειλας κακά** refers to the announcements of the various labours, which were made by Eurystheus through Copreus (*Il.* xv 639).

55. **ἦ που...δοκεῖς**: *methinks you fancy*. ἦ που is sometimes ironical as here: Soph. *Ai.* 1008 ἦ ποῦ με Τελαμών...δέξειτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος. καλὴν is predicative. ἔδραν is a true cogn. acc. (= *posture*): in 394 (n.) there is an extension by analogy.

56. **κακῶς φρονῶν**: *in your folly*. Cf. 413, *Med.* 250, 1014, Aesch. *Ag.* 927 καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον, *H. F.* 1426. To the Greeks folly seemed to combine moral with intellectual obliquity.

58. **ἀντ'** is redundant after **πάροιθ'**, but cf. *Hipp.* 382 οἱ δ' ἡδονὴν προθέντες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἄλλην τιν'. So after comparatives and ἄλλος (*Hel.* 574 n.).

59. **ἀνίστασθαι** implies motion and is naturally followed by **ἐς**. When grammarians speak of *pregnant construction* in this connexion, they only mean that we must translate *rise to go*, not that the Greek is abnormal. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 116 A ἀνίστατο εἰς οἴκημά τι ὡς λουσόμενος, *Andr.* 1040 ἄλοχοι δ' ἐξέλειπον οἴκους πρὸς ἄλλον εὐνάτορ'.

61. It is better to place a comma after *θεοῦ*, and supply *ἐστίν* with *γαῖα*, so that *ἐλευθέρα* is predicate (Wilamowitz in *Hermes* xvii 361).

62. *ἐν ᾗ βεβήκαμεν*: inf. 910.—The line is bisected by the pause after *γαῖ'*; this is not uncommon, with or without elision, where the third thesis is monosyllabic. See Goodell in *Classical Philology* i p. 163, and Verrall in *C. R.* xx p. 242.

63. *μοι* is more nearly defined by *τῆδε χερί*. So *Bacch.* 619 *τῶδε περὶ βρόχους ἔβαλλε γόνασι καὶ χηλαῖς ποδῶν*, *H. F.* 179 *Γίγασι πλευροῖς πτήν' ἐναρμόσας βέλη*. This figure is known as *σχήμα Ἴωνικόν*, and is not limited in its application to parts of the body: Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 162.

64. *οὔτοι... γε*. The latter particle stresses *βία*, which echoes *χερί* of the previous line—'no, not by violence' (whatever other means may prevail): inf. 438, *EL.* 363. Since the chief emphasis is on the idea of violence, there is no need to read *γ' ἔμ'* with Reisig: cf. *Soph. Ant.* 546 (Jebb).

65. *γνώση σύ*: often in threats or warnings (*Hel.* 811 n.): cf. inf. 269, *ἴν' εἰδῆς Andr.* 589 etc. In *Ion* 1357 it means 'that will be for you to judge,' as in Plato, e.g. *Phileb.* 12 A.

*ἦσθ' ἄρ'*: *you are not, I find* (*Hel.* 616). As he speaks, Copreus seizes the children, and by his action proves Iolaus to be a false prophet. Otherwise, Mekler's *μάντις ἦσθα δ'* (see cr. n.) would be required.

*τάδε* is governed by *μάντις*. Cf. *I. A.* 1255 *ἐγὼ τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ συνετός εἰμι καὶ τὰ μή*, but it is not easy to draw the line which separates this from the acc. of respect in *Med.* 686. The acc. after nouns and adjectives is a dying-out construction in Gk and Lat. *Soph. Ant.* 787 *σ' οὔτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδεὶς* is a clear example.

67. *ἄπερρ'*: see cr. n. I follow Cobet, since Eur., while often using *ἀπαίρειν*, nowhere else has it with this innuendo. For *ἀπέρρειν* cf. *H. F.* 260: the change is easy, owing to the common confusion of *ε* and *αι*.

68. *νομίζων*: *claiming them for Eurystheus*. For the gen. cf. *Soph. Ant.* 738 *οὐ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡ πόλις νομίζεται*;

69. *δαρὸν... χρόνον* seems to have no point, unless it refers to the claim of the Athenians to be *αὐτόχθονες*: see fr. 362. 7, *Med.* 826 *χώρας ἀπορθήτων*. So considered, it is an appeal by the helpless fugitives to those who have never been forcibly dispossessed.

70. ἀγοραίου Διός. The common view is that Eur. has transferred to Marathon the βωμὸς ἀγοραίου Διός which existed at Athens (Hesych. etc.), and Elmsley notes that, as such altars were not confined to Athens (Herod. v 46), there may have been one at Marathon. Frazer, however, considers that the existence of the altar of Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος is not well attested (*Pausanias* II p. 144). Wilamowitz (*Comment.* p. XIV) thinks that the market-place in question is the ἀγορὰ ἐφορία (Dem. 23. 39), and that Ζεὺς ὄριος ([Dem.] 7. 40) is meant. See also *Introd.* p. x n. 2, p. xvii n. 3.

δ' is practically equivalent to γάρ: 890.

71. στέφη. Suppliants brought branches of olive or laurel, intertwined with festoons of wool, and laid them on the altar. Here στέφη, strictly the festoons, is used for ἱκετηρῖαι: see Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 3 ἱκτηρῖοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι.

72. ὄνειδος. The nominative in apposition to the sentence is sometimes found where we might expect the accusative: cf. 402, *Hel.* 987, *Tro.* 489 τὸ λίσθιον δέ, θριγκὸς ἀθλίων κακῶν, δούλη γυνή γραυὸς Ἑλλάδ' εἰσαφίξομαι.

73. βοή...ἔστηκε: the force of the perf. may be rendered *fills our ears*: contrast Soph. *Phil.* 1263 θόρυβος ἴσταται βοῆς = *is rising*. ἰστάναι βοήν = *to raise a cry*, either of the actual shouter (656, *I. T.* 1307, *Or.* 1529), or of the exciting cause (128). *I. A.* 1036 τίς ὑμέναιος...ἔστασεν ἰαχάν is exceptional.

74. 'What mishap will it presently discover?'

75 ff. For the metre see Appendix C.

76. ἀμαλόν, a reading recovered from Hesychius, is part of the predicate.

χύμενον, also in Aesch. *Eum.* 261, *Cho.* 400, an old non-thematic aor. middle with passive signification: see *Monro, H. G.* § 8. It was superseded by χυθείς.

After this *v.* a line is lost corresponding to 97.

77. πρὸς = ὑπό: 244, 1001. So very commonly in Herodotus.

ἐν γῆ. The locative dat. with ἐν after a verb of motion is Homeric: *Il.* v 370 ἢ δ' ἐν γούνασι πίπτε Διώνης δι' Ἀφροδίτη. See also *Hel.* 1093 n. Note that πτώμα πίτνειν could not be used without the addition of an adj. such as δύστηνον here, and cf. 990.

80. τετράπτολιν: see on 32, where σύγκληρος is practically the equivalent of ξύνοικος here.



81. **πέραθεν**: *from over the water*, is explained by *ἐκλιπόντες* *Εὐβοῖδ' ἀκτάν* in 83.

83. **κατέχει'** is a change demanded by the metre (see cr. n.). The vivid historic present suits the eagerness of the enquiry: cf. Soph. *Trach.* 748 *ποῦ δ' ἐμπελάξεις τάνδρῃ καὶ παρίστασαι*: The edd. quote Verg. *Aen.* VII 196 *auditiq̄ue advertitis æquore cursum*. It is combined with aor. as in *Hel.* 33 etc. For the absolute use of *κατέχειν* (= *to bring to*) see on *Hel.* 1206. Elmsley doubts the reading on the ground that *κατίσχω*, *κατασχῆσω* and *κατέσχω* are used in this sense, but not *κατέχω* or *κατέξω*. Hence Matthiae interprets *occupy*, supplying an object from *λαόν*, but this is most improbable. Reisig's *κατέσχετε λιπόντες* would be plausible, if that form of the dochmius were permissible here.

84. **νησιώτην** is contemptuous (*Rhes.* 701, *Andr.* 14), and is enforced by *τρίβω*, *drag out*, which is by usage appropriated to lives of suffering and obscurity. The Greeks in general regarded poverty as debasing and cramping to the character: *El.* 375 *ἀλλ' ἔχει νόσον πενία, διδάσκει δ' ἄνδρα τῇ χρεία κακόν*, *Isocr.* 7. 44 *εἰδότες τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀργίας γιγνομένας, τὰς δὲ κακουργίας διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας. αἰσχρότης*, the regular attribute of *πενία*, as may be inferred from *Thuc.* II 40, illustrates the characteristic identification of the morally base with the aesthetically repulsive.

88. **παραστάτην** has acquired the general meaning of 'supporter.' So in fr. 297 *δίκης παραστάτας ἐσθλοῦς* = *upholders of justice*. Iolaus might be described as the *squire* of Heracles: *Ion* 198 *ἀσπιστὰς Ἰόλαος, δε κοινὸν αἰρόμενος πόνου Δίῳ παιδὶ συναντλεῖ*.

89. **σῶμ'**: see on 528. Dobree's *ὄνομ'* is uncalled for.

91. **κομίζεις**, keepest safe in thy arms, cherishest. Motion is not implied: cf. *I. A.* 1204 *ὑπόροφον νεάνιδα Σπάρτην κομίζουσ' εὐτυχῆς γενήσεται*. This supplies the connecting link with the meaning *entertain*, for which see *Hipp.* 1069.

95. **τί χρέος** is cognate acc. with *ἀφιγμένοι* to be supplied from 94 = *on what errand?* Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1005 *καὶ μὴν μάλιστα τοῦτ' ἀφικόμην*, Jebb on *ib.* 788, *Ar. Av.* 120 *ταῦτ' οὖν ἰκέται νῶ πρὸς σὲ δεῦρ' ἀφίγμεθα*. It is worth notice that the same idiom is common in old Latin: *Plaut. Mil.* 1158 *id nos ad te, si quid velles, venimus*, Palmer on *Amp'h.* III 2. 28.

**λόγων**. The ordinary phrase is *λόγου τυχεῖν* (e.g. *Dem.* 18. 13), but in the corresponding case Eur. employs *λόγους δίδόναι* as well as the common *λόγον δίδόναι* (*Tro.* 907).

**πόλεος** is a loose gen. of relation. The meaning is perhaps *speech before the city* rather than *speech given by the city*: *I. A.* 78 ὄρκους παλαιούς Τυνδάρεω = oaths given to Tyndareus.

96. **μελόμενοι**, personal, as in 354. The inf. follows as in Aesch. *Suppl.* 367 ξυνη̄ μελέσθω λαός ἐκπονεῖν ἄκη.

97. **ἐκδοθῆναι** depends on the idea of supplication carried on from 94: cf. sup. 34. ἐκδίδωμι is the *vox propria* of a surrender made in acknowledgment of a superior right, as in a case of extradition, or of overmastering force. Cf. 319, *Med.* 1238, *Andr.* 256, Herod. IV 80, Dem. 21. 30, 23. 83. Similarly ἐκδοτος γίγνομαι *Ion* 1251, ἐκδοτον ἄγεσθαι Herod. VI 85.

99. **δεσπόταις**. The claim of Eurystheus is that of a master for his slave, and the conflict is between civil and religious law: so κρατοῦντες in 100. The situation is similar in Aesch. *Suppl.* 387 εἴ τοι κρατοῦσι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου σέθεν νόμῳ πόλεως. For the allusive plural see 294.

103. See cr. n. Musgrave's σφ' is the simplest remedy, for it is difficult to believe that ξένε is addressed to Iolaus and not to Copeus, or that βιαίῳ χειρὶ refers to the force which the Athenians might have to use in repelling the latter (Matthiae). ἀπολιπεῖν, *to be parted from*, does not imply voluntary separation, as may be seen from *Or.* 1141, where ἀπολιπὼν τοῦτ' = saved from this reproach. Cf. *Ion* 861 πῶς αἰδοῦς ἀπολειφθῶ; Thuc. VI 31. 1 μετὰ κινδύνων ἀλλήλους ἀπολιπεῖν. Murray, bracketing σ', would, I suppose, render, 'to abandon the sanctuaries of the gods to violence.' Wecklein, keeping σ', adopts F. W. Schmidt's somewhat violent τὰδ' ἀλιτεῖν for ἀπολιπεῖν.

104. 'For sovereign Justice shall not be treated so.' πείσεται is from πάσχω, not from πείθω. Violence is an *outrage* upon Justice: cf. e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 853 προβᾶσ' ἐπ' ἔσχατον θράσους ὑψηλὸν ἐς Δίκας βάθρον προσέπεσες.

105. He recurs to his point, the legal rights of Eurystheus.

108. **πόλει** must be taken with ἄθεον, *sc. ἐστί*. 'It is impious for the city to yield up.'

**προστροπᾶν**: abstract for concrete, 'band of suppliants.' Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 21 γυναικῶν ἥτις ἦδε προστροπή. The adj. *ικεσίαν* is redundant, as in *εὐήρετος πλάτα* and the like.

109. **δέ γ'**: *yes, but*—an admission coupled with a rejoinder.

**πόδα**. 'To keep one's foot out of the mire' is proverbial for keeping out of trouble. Cf. *Hipp.* 1293 πῆματος ἔξω πόδα τοῦδ'

ἀπέχει, Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 288 καλὰ γυμώσκοντ' ἀνάγκα ἐκτὸς ἔχειν πόδα, Aesch. *Cho.* 693 ἔξω κομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα.

110. ἀμείνωνος. The comparative serves merely to contrast ἐμβουλία with rashness (=good rather than bad), which is a Greek but not an English idiom. Cf. Thuc. II 40 τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχροῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἰσχιον, Aesch. *Theb.* 584 φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὀρνιθος βροτούς, δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις (Verrall). So probably the comparatives in *Suppl.* 196, *Hēr.* 482. There is a lacuna after this verse, comprising at least the lines which corresponded to 90—92 and a speech of the herald to which φράσαντα ταῦτα refers.

111. φράσαντα: the participle bears the stress of the sentence. 'Thou shouldst have made this announcement to the king before being so bold.' Observe that σέβοντα qualifies the whole combination φράσαντα τολμᾶν ἀλλὰ μὴ βία ἀφέλλκειν as circumstantial participle of manner (Goodw. § 836).

114. The question is dramatically useful to introduce the characters who now approach; and it should be remembered that Copreus was not accredited directly to Athens, but had followed the fugitives from place to place.

116. πρὸς τοῦτον κ.τ.λ. 'With him (982) will be the struggle about this plea.' Contrast λόγων ἀγῶνες (Thuc. III 67, *Andr.* 234, *Phoen.* 588) where the genitive is descriptive. For ἄρα cf. 895.

119. ἐπήκοοι is predicative, with the force of ἐπακουσόμενοι.

121. βοηδρομήσας. The aor. participle in this combination is coincident in time with the main verb: see Goodw. § 144.

122. ἀθροίζεται: causes to assemble. Cf. *Phoen.* 1169 ἀλλὰ νιν πάλιν, κυναγὸς ὡσεὶ, παῖς σὸς ἐξαθροίζεται (=gets them collected again).

124. καταστέψαντες. The suppliant placed the wreathed olive-branch (στέφη 71) on the altar, where it remained until his prayer was granted (*Suppl.* 359), or after it had been refused. The prose equivalent of καταστέφειν is ἰκετηρίαν τιθέναι.

127. νιν is plural.

128. βοήν ἔστησε: see on 73.

129. οἴκτω: the normal use of the causal dative, as in 701: contrast 474.

130. καὶ μὴν...γ'. 'And yet his dress is Greek.' καὶ μὴν is adversative; γε, which is usual but not essential in this combination, has the effect of stressing the intervening words: *Hel.* 308 n.

"Ἐλληνα = Ἐλληνικήην, with a fem. noun. This usage, condemned by Elmsley, is found in three other passages of tragedy: *I. T.* 341, 495, Aesch. *Ag.* 1254. "Ἐλληνα πόλεμον is doubtful in Thuc. II 36.

ῥυθμόν: the arrangement of the dress. The distinction made is between the dress itself and the manner of wearing it. So Poseidon rebukes the barbarian Triballus: *Ar. Av.* 1567 οὗτος, τί δρᾶς; ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' οὕτως ἀμπέχῃ;

132. δὴ emphasises the pronoun. The words μὴ μέλλειν τ' are interposed διὰ μέσον without interfering with the structure of φράζειν ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thuc. VI 68 οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι (*scil.* ἔσται ὁ ἀγών) ἐξ ἧς κρατεῖν δεῖ ἢ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀποχωρεῖν. The construction is explained and illustrated by Tyrrell in *C. R.* II 140 f.

134. θέλεις μαθεῖν: *you would learn* (13 n.), but βούλη might have been used equally well, as in *Soph. Phil.* 233 "Ἐλληνές ἐσμεν. τοῦτο γὰρ βούλη μαθεῖν.

135. ἐφ' οἷσι: *for what purpose*, as in *Phoen.* 463 ἐφ' οἷσιν ἦκει, ταῦτα δεῖ μόνον σκοπεῖν. The relative is used for the indirect interrogative, as often: *Hel.* 818 n. Kuehner-Gerth § 562. 4 would confine this to the cases, such as *Alc.* 640, where ὅς bears the sense of *oikos*: see also Thompson on *Plat. Men.* 92 c.

136. This line, as Wecklein remarks, is not inconsistent with II 4 (n.). Eurystheus had given him a general commission to fetch the Heraclidae.

138. δίκαι': *rights at once to enforce and to plead*. For the substantival use (= *iura*) cf. 368, *Andr.* 1162, *Suppl.* 437, *I. T.* 559 ὡς εἶ κακὸν δίκαιον εἰσεπράξατο, *I. A.* 810 τοῦμὸν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ἐμέ λέγειν χρεών. In the Orators δίκαιον is often a *plea, claim* etc. without any moral connotation: e.g. *Dem.* 37. 1.

139. ἄγω: *seek to remove*—a conative present.

140. ἐκ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ qualifies the noun: cf. *Hel.* 96 ἄλμ' ἐπὶ ξίφος.

141. ἐκείθεν is preferred to ἐκεῖ, as measuring the relation between the domestic law and the citizen who is for the time beyond its jurisdiction. In other words, it has the *surveinyng* force, which Jebb pointed out in his note on *Soph. Ant.* 411. Similar are *Med.* 506 τοῖς μὲν οἴκοθεν φίλοις ἐχθρὰ καθέστηχ', *Phoen.* 294 τὸν οἴκοθεν νόμον σέβουσα, Aesch. *Suppl.* 390 δεῖ τοί σε φεύγειν κατὰ νόμους τοὺς οἴκοθεν.

142. **δίκαιοι**: personal, as in 776.

**πόλις**: in the full sense of an independent civilised community. One of the chief characteristics of the πόλις is the validity of its jurisdiction over all its citizens: thus in Thuc. v 18 the temple of Apollo and the Delphians are to be no longer subject to the Phocians, but αὐτονόμους καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. In Soph. *Ant.* 737 πόλις is contrasted with the arbitrary rule of a tyrant.

143. **αὐτῶν** = ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, as commonly in the poets, and in prose.

**κυρίου**, of two terminations: 901.—The adj. is used proleptically with κραίνειν δίκας, *i.e.* to execute judgments so as to make them effective. For the verb cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 460 ἰὼ θεοί, κραίνειτ' ἐνδίκως δίκας. Bacchyl. 12. 45 δίκας θνατοῖσι κραίνων. κύριος appears to be used technically of enforcing the judgment of the court: Dem. 39. 15 δίκην...κυρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐγγράψαι, 33. 33 ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ὑμῶν...τῆν...δίαιταν κυρίαν ἐγνώ εἶναι; 21. 92.

144. **ἀφιγμένοι**: see cr. n. On the whole, it appears more probable that the termination has been corrupted by the proximity of the other genitives than that Eur. wrote the sentence as it stands in the MSS. If he did, αὐτῶν, *i.e.* τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, must be supplied, but the passage from *their* arrival to *our* arguments is abrupt and awkward.

145. **ἔσταμεν** is pluperfect,—not perfect, as it is strangely rendered by most editors. 'We rested on the same arguments.' Cobet *N. L.* p. 234 pointed out that the perf. is impossible, and substituted ἔστημεν: 'we took our stand upon...' Wecklein removes the difficulty by reading τοῖσδ' ἔν' with οὐδεῖς for κούδεῖς, but ἐν...λόγοις is then very awkwardly combined with ἀφιγμένων. For ἐστάναι ἐν λόγοις cf. Plut. *ser. num. vind.* 6 p. 551 C αἱ δικαιοσύνηαι παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀντιλυπεῖν ἔργον ἐν τῷ κακῶς τὸν δεδρακότα παθεῖν ἴστανται.

146. **ἴδια** is clearly contrasted with the troubles of the Heraclidae, and is loosely used, as Elmsley pointed out, where οἰκεία would have been more appropriate. For, strictly, οἰκείος )( ἀλλότριος as ἴδιος )( κοινός. Elmsley quotes Thuc. I 78 μὴ ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκείον πόνον προσθήσθε: but in I 141 χρόνιοι τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσι τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλεονί τὰ οἰκεία πράσσουσιν we find οἰκεία where ἴδια might have been expected.

147. **ἐς σέ.** The same meaning ('observing some folly in you') is expressed by Soph. *O. T.* 536 *δειλιαν ἢ μωριαν ἰδών τιν' ἐν μοι*: although Hermann and Matthiae preferred to render *devising some folly for you*. Eur. however uses *ἐς* with great freedom in a variety of combinations where other prepositions might be expected: inf. 811, *Hel.* 679 n. Elmsley's view that *ἐς σέ* should be taken with *ἤλθον* offends against the order of the words, and requires the addition of *ἐν σοί* or the like to complete the sense.

148. **ἐξ ἀμηχάνων.** Tr. *in their despair*; but strictly *ἐκ* gives the starting-point, as in *El.* 624 *ὀρῶ γὰρ ἐλπιδ' ἐξ ἀμηχάνων*, Plat. *legg.* 699 B (quoted by Pflugk) *ὡς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ τότε ἐφαίνετο γενέσθαι τὸ νικῆσαι μαχομένους*.

149. **ῥίπτουντες** is changed by most editors, following Elmsley, to *ῥίπτοντες*, but the need for caution has been shown by Jebb on Soph. *Ai.* 239. For the phrase *ῥίπτειν* or *ἀναρρίπτειν κίνδυνον*, = *take a risk*, modelled on *ῥίπτειν κύβον*, see Lexx.

**εἴτ' οὖν κ.τ.λ.**, *whether success follow or no*. *γενήσεται* is, I think, impersonal and employed in a sense similar to that of our colloquial *to come off*. Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 378 *παισὶ δὲ μᾶλλον γεγένηται*.

152. **ἀβούλως**: see cr. n. *ἄβουλος* always means *rash* or *inconsiderate*, and there is no evidence that it can be used like *ἀμήχανος* in the sense of *perplexed*. Kirchhoff's slight change, which Cobet also recommends, should therefore be adopted.

**τῶνδ'** takes the place of the reflexive pronoun, and Kirchhoff substitutes *σφῶν*. *τῶνδε = ἡμῶν* would be unobjectionable, if the children were speaking (cf. 306), and there seems no reason why it should not be retained in *oratio obliqua*. Cf. the analogous use of *ἐκεῖνος*: Thuc. II 11 *ὅταν ὀρῶσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ κείνων φθείροντας (= τὰ ἐαυτῶν)*.

153. **φέρ' ἀντίθες γάρ**: this is the normal order, since *φέρε*, like a vocative, stands outside the sentence. The whole phrase is a dialectical formula: cf. *Or.* 551 (Headlam in *C. R.* x 437).

**τ'...τ'** introduce alternatives: *Hel.* 1393.

155. **τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν**: *our offer*. Cf. 23.

156. **τοσσηνδε χεῖρα**: *so mighty an army*. Cf. 305, 316 and for *χεῖρ* 1035.

158. **λόγους**. With this word *τῶνδε* must be supplied from the latter part of the line. The attachment of the pronoun to the second noun only is idiomatic: *Med.* 1366 *ὑβρις οἱ τε σοὶ νεοδμητες*

γάμοι, Soph. *O. C.* 1399 κελεύθου τῆς τ' ἐμῆς δυσπραξίας. Others less well explain 'mere words' )( ἔργα.

159. καθίσταται: present for future (*dynamic* present): 419, 557. For the form of the conditional sentence see on 1011.

160. μὴ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. This is a good instance of *hyperbaton*: see 205, 844 and other examples cited on *Hel.* 719. μεθήσομεν ἀγῶνα—'drop this contest'—resembles νεῖκος μεθίναι *Hel.* 1236, 1681.

χαλυβδικοῦ: scil. σιδήρου. The ellipse is defended by *El.* 819 ὁ δ' εὐκρότητον Δωρίδ' ἀρπάσας χεροῖν. The edd. compare the use of 'a Toledo' in the Elizabethan dramatists: see e.g. Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour* III i 226, and we still have 'Enfield' and 'Winchester.' The Chalybes, though placed by Aeschylus in Scythia (*Prom.* 714, *Theb.* 715), were in fact natives of Pontus to the S. of the Euxine.

162. 'What cause then wilt thou allege—what robbery of lands, what raid of booty—for being at war with Argos?' It is strange that Kirchhoff's brilliant emendation (see cr. n.), now accepted by Wecklein and Murray, should not have sooner displaced the vulgate Τυρινθίους θεῖς... Ἀργείοις τ'. As against the latter observe (1) that the mention of the Tiryinthians before, or even with the Argives, is out of place; (2) that θεῖναι πόλεμον is unnatural, when referring to a war in which the subject is himself engaged.

164. τίνος ὕπερ, *on whose behalf*, should be taken with πεισόντας.

165. νεκροῦς is equivalent to *dead men* rather than to *corpses*. So *Suppl.* 16 νεκροῦς... τοὺς ὀλωλότας δορί, and *Hel.* 1252 n.

166. γέροντος...τύμβου: *Med.* 1209. In the same way we speak of 'an old man with one foot in the grave.' Euripides' style gives a foretaste of the New Comedy: cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 392 *ex hoc sepulchro veteris*, *Mil.* 628 *capularis*, *Asin.* 892 *capuli decus*. So τυμβογέρων, σοροδαίμων and the like.

167. τὸ μηδέν, *naught*, is indeclinable here, as is ὁ μηδέν in Soph. *Ai.* 1231 ὅτ' οὐδέν ὦν τοῦ μηδέν ἀντέστης ὕπερ. Cf. *El.* 370 ἄνδρα γενναίου πατρὸς τὸ μηδέν ὄντα, *Tro.* 412 οὐδέν τι κρείσσω τῶν τὸ μηδέν ἦν ἄρα. We find also τῷ μηδέμιν and τοὺς μηδένας.

ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος is a phrase of qualification here attached to τὸ μηδέν. Cf. *Hipp.* 1162 Ἴππόλυτος οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος. It should not be rendered by our 'so to speak,' which is used quite differently. See Adam on Plat. *rep.* 341 B.

168. εἰς ἄντλον. ἄντλος is the bilge-water (*sentina*), and here as in 109 (n.) avoiding defilement is proverbially associated with avoiding danger. But in *Hec.* 1025 ἀλλυμενον ὡς τις ἐς ἄντλον πεσών the thought is quite different, and ἄντλος means sea-water.

ἐμβήση πόδα is generally treated as an extension of βαίνειν βάσιν, so that πόδα is practically the equivalent of 'footstep.' It is possible, however, that πόδα was regarded as the direct object of βαίνειν and its compounds, becoming transitive in this connexion; for this we have the special analogy of αἴσσω, apart from the general tendency of language illustrated by μένω and verbs of emotion like φρίσσω. See also on *Hel.* 526 and cf. 802.

169. 'At the best you can answer that you will merely acquire a hope,' *i.e.* that you will have to be content with a hope. The line has been much canvassed (see Wecklein's Appendix), and the following points require notice: (1) ἐρεῖς introduces, *not* an answer that Demophon is likely to make to the argument based on advantage, but the only reply that is *represented* as possible. This is avoided by Jebb's conjecture ἐρῶ τὸ λῶστον ἐλπίδ' εὐρήσει μόνον (*C.R.* 1 95). (2) τὸ λῶστον is grammatically in apposition to the sentence: cf. *Suppl.* 158 τὸ δὲ πλεόν, ἦλθον Ἀμφιάρεω γε πρὸς βίαν, *I.T.* 500 τὸ μὲν δίκαιον δυστυχεῖς καλοῖμεθ' ἄν, *Hec.* 1168 τὸ λοισθιον δέ...ἐξειργάσαντο δειν'. So with τὸ μέγιστον (*inf.* 238, *Med.* 559), τὸ δεινότατον, τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ λεγόμενον etc. (3) εὐρίσκειν is used where εὐρίσκεσθαι might have been expected; but this is common: cf. *e.g.* *Med.* 1107, *Soph. El.* 1061. (4) μόνον, qualifying εὐρήσειν, for which Murray suggests μόνην and Wecklein χρόνον, is defensible only if it is remembered that the speaker is giving a contemptuous travesty of the hard shifts to which the advocacy of his opponents' cause will be reduced.

170. τοῦτο refers back to ἐλπίς: so in *Andr.* 332 τοῦτο after πλοῦτψ, and in *Tro.* 401 εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἔλθαι after πόλεμον. See also on *Hel.* 1687, and cf. 745.

πολλῶ is regularly employed only with comparatives, but ἐνδεές here has the force of 'inferior to': cf. *Phoen.* 701 πολλῶ γὰρ ἡὔρον ἐνδεεῖς διαλλαγὰς. For ἐνδεής Elmsley quotes fr. 142 τῶν γνησίων γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντες ἐνδεεῖς νόμψ νοσοῦσιν. Hence τοῦ παρόντος should be understood as 'the present offer of alliance with Argos,' rather than as 'your present needs.'

171. ὠπλισμένοις (see cr. n.) is a great improvement, emphasis-



ing the contrast between the armed might of Argos and the prospective weakness of the Heraclidae; unless indeed we might assume that ὠπλισμένοι, in conjunction with ἠβήσαντες, refers to the *πανοπλία* given by the Athenian state on their attaining manhood to the children of those who fell in war (Aeschin. 3. 154).

172. ἠβήσαντες (740), ingressive aorist, 'when come to their prime,' equivalent to ἠβης τέλος μολόντας in *Med.* 920.

σε...ψυχὴν: 63 n. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 319 ὁ δρῶν σ' ἀνιᾶ τὰς φρένας, Bacchyl. 10. 85 τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν.

173. χοῦν μέσῳ: *the interval*. Cf. *Phoen.* 589 ἀλλ' ἀναλοῦται χρόνος οὖν μέσῳ μάτην: the interval before action is useless, *Hel.* 630 ἐν μέσῳ λόγους (n.).

175. μηδέν is necessary with an imperative (κτῆσαι) following.

176. ὅπερ φιλεῖτε δρᾶν. This is an appeal by the poet to Athenian sentiment; for they loved to pose as the protectors of the weak and oppressed. See *Suppl.* 321 f., 379 f., Soph. *O. C.* 261 (Jebb), Thuc. VI 13, Isocr. 4. 52, Plat. *Menex.* 244 E. But in [*Xen.*] *rep. Ath.* 3. 10 the point is entirely different, and the Athenians are criticised for their habit of attaching themselves to the democratic faction (τοὺς χείρους), when they intervene in the affairs of a foreign state.

177. παρὸν: acc. absolute.

178. λάβῃς is explanatory of πάθῃς, with asyndeton. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 505 E ἵνα μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου γένηται, ἃ πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἰς ὧν ἰκανὸς γένωμαι, *rep.* 416 A, B.

179. γνολή λόγον: *decide a dispute*. So we find in the Orators κρίσιν and δίαιταν γινώσκειν, γινώσκετε τὰ δίκαια (*Dem.* 33. 38) = determine the issue raised by the pleas on either side.

180. πρὶν ἂν with an interrogative involving a negative idea (Goodw. § 622).—There is a reference to the well-known saw popularly attributed to Phocylides: μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης. See my note on Zeno fr. 29, and cf. *Andr.* 957 τοῦ διδάξαντος βροτοῦς λόγους ἀκούειν τῶν ἐναντίων πάρα, Aesch. *Eum.* 428 δυοῖν παρόντων ἡμῶς λόγος πάρα.

181. γάρ: see cr. n. The correction should be approved for two reasons: (1) it avoids the awkwardness of πάρεστί μοι attached to ὑπάρχει with explanatory asyndeton, (2) there is no such contrast between 181 and 185 as to justify μέν...δέ. For the confusion of μέν and γάρ see Cobet, *N. L.* p. 702.

182. **εἰπεῖν** κ.τ.λ., *i.e.* I am allowed to speak in my turn without interruption, as I am compelled to listen. The Greek tendency to coordinate by antithesis obscures the logical relation of the clauses. λέγειν and ἀκούειν are a pair of mutually complementary verbs, like δρᾶν and πάσχειν, δοῦναι and λαβεῖν, and, though ἀκούειν is here otiose, their combination expresses the completeness of the judicial act. Cf. *Bacch.* 801 ὃς οὔτε πάσχων οὔτε δρῶν σιγήσεται, *Soph. El.* 305 τὰς οὔσας τέ μου καὶ τὰς ἀπούσας ἐλπιδας.

183. **πρόσθεν** : without being heard.

184. **ἐν μέσῳ** (see cr. n.) is accepted by all recent editors, except Murray. They quote *Ion* 1284 τί δ' ἐστὶ Φοίβῳ σοί τε κουνὸν ἐν μέσῳ; The meaning is 'we have no relations with each other,' and ἐν μέσῳ is synonymous with συμβόλαιον as used in *Ion* 411 ἄ τε νῶν συμβόλαια πρόσθεν ἦν ἐς παῖδα τὸν σόν, *Dem.* 33. 34 ᾧ παράπαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τουτοῦ μὴδὲν συμβόλαιόν ἐστιν. Cf. the English law-term *frivility*.

185. **οὐ μέτεσθ'**. It has been pointed out that the corruption is probably due to the occurrence of οὐδὲν ἐστὶν in the previous line.

186. **δοκῆσαν** : acc. abs. as in *Suppl.* 129 ἰδίᾳ δοκῆσάν σοι τόδ' ἢ πάσῃ πόλει;

187. Argos and Mycenae are practically identified, but, where it is necessary to distinguish, Mycenae is the town and Argos the district. Mycenae had been destroyed by Argos (B.C. 467), and was an insignificant place at the time when this play was written.

188. **ὄδ'** (see cr. n. and cf. *Soph. Ai.* 544) is a slight change, and ὦδ' overloads the sentence, weakening by anticipation the effect of οὐς ἀπήλασαν χθονός.

189. **ἢ τὸν** κ.τ.λ. A new point is introduced: do you claim that banishment from Argos entails banishment from Hellas?

191. **οὔκουν... γ'**: not from Athens, however it may be elsewhere (*scil.* φεύγειν δεῖ). Cf. *Hel.* 124 οὔκουν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γ', *H. F.* 1251.

192. **Ἡρακλείους**. This use of the adjective is Homeric: *Il.* XI 562 Τελαμώνιον υἱόν. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 267 τῷ Λαβδακείῳ παιδί, *Pind. Pyth.* II 18 Δεινομένειε παῖ.

193. **οὐ γάρ τι** is a favourite combination of Eur., in which τι sometimes qualifies a single word (*Alc.* 210 οὐ γάρ τι πάντες εὐφρονούσι κοιράνοισ), sometimes, as here, the clause. Cf. *Hipp.* 792, *Andr.* 871, *Suppl.* 117, inf. 384.—The reference is to the reception

of the Heraclidae by Ceyx, which, as we know from Longinus, was described by Hecataeus (see *Introd.* p. xvi). Trachis is called Achaean as belonging to the district of Achaea Phthiotis (Strabo 1x p. 433), although strictly in Malis. Weckl. follows Cobet in omitting *ἐστίν*, and adding *τάδε* after *Ἀχαικὸν*.

195. *ὄγκων* balances *δίκη*: 6 n.—The antecedent of *οἰάπερ*, if expressed, would be cogn. acc. after *ὄγκων* (*scil.* *τοιαῦτα*): cf. Soph. *Trach.* 49 *πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα τὴν Ἡράκλειον ἐξοδὸν γοωμένην*, Eur. *Med.* 205 *λιγυρὰ δ' ἄχρα μογερὰ βοᾶ τὸν προδόταν*. 'Magnifying Argos with words such as you employ to-day.'

196. *βωμίους*: *supr.* 33.

197. *κρανοῦσι*: *decide in favour of*. Since the meaning is well established, there is no reason for disturbing the text. Cf. *Trø.* 928 *εἴ σφε κρίνειεν Πάρις*, *Rhes.* 655 *κρίνας σε*, Aesch. *Ag.* 471 *κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον*, Xen. *Hell.* 1 7. 34 *ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμον... ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς*. Elmsley proposed, but afterwards abandoned, *κρανοῦσι*, which is printed in several texts. The condition is present—'if this is to come to pass...'—as the apodosis shows (Goodw. § 407).

198. Lit. I do not recognise Athens here as being any longer free. For the omission of *οὔσας* see on 332. Weckl., following Kirchhoff, has *οὐ φημ'* for *οὐκ οἶδ'*.

200. *θελήσουσ'*: 13 n.—*αἰσχύνη*, *honour*, is distinguished from *αἰδώς*, as a quality from a habit. Blomfield well quotes Juv. 8. 83 *summum crede nefas, animam praeferre pudori*.

201. *παρ'*: 370, 881.

202. *πόλει* (see *cr. n.*) is an easy change. No attempt has been made to defend *πόλιν*, which is not explained by translating *quod ad civitatem attinet*, or by calling it an acc. of respect; nor is it possible to supply *τοσαῦτα ἐπαινεῖν* or the like. *Ant.* 212, cited by Elmsley, is itself in need of support; *inf.* 1024 is analogous, but much less harsh than *πόλιν* would be here.

203. *δή*: *ere now* (*Hel.* 134).

204. *βαρυνθεῖς* is supplementary participle, to which *αἰνούμενος* is attached as a circumstantial participle of condition = *εἰ αἰνοίμην*. For overpraise and its attendant evils cf. *Or.* 1162 *βάρος τι κὰν τῷδ' ἐστίν, αἰνεῖσθαι λίαν*, *I.A.* 979 *αἰνούμενοι γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ τρόπον τινα μισοῦσι τοὺς αἰνοῦντας, ἣν αἰνώσ' ἄγαν*. There is involved here not merely a question of good taste, but a relic of popular belief in the

danger of excessive prosperity (cf. ἐπίφθονον): see Munro, *Elucidations of Catullus* p. 76.

205. σοὶ δ' κ.τ.λ. For the hyperbaton see 160.

206. ἐπίπερ. The reason, as explained in what follows, is that Demophon has inherited the obligation from Theseus, who was bound to the Heraclidae by his relationship to and association with their father.

207. For the stemma see on 37.—μέν...δέ...δ'. There is no contrast, but the clauses are linked together in a series by the particles: so Soph. *Phil.* 239 ἐγὼ γένος μὲν εἰμι...πλέω δ' ἐς οἶκον· αὐδῶμαι δὲ κ.τ.λ. Observe the asyndeton at the commencement of the explanation (*Hel.* 23).

208. γεννάται. This use of the present should be distinguished from the historic, from which it differs in intention. Its function is to register or identify: see on *Hel.* 568, and cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1174 τεθνήσων· οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν.—καὶ τίς φορεύει;

209. πάλιν, on the other hand, next, contrasts the two genealogies. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 482 D νῦν δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς ταῦτὸν τοῦτο ἔπαθε, *rep.* 519 E. But in ἀνελθέ μοι πάλιν (*Ion* 933, *Phoen.* 1207) it means *anew*. ἀνεμι, I will trace back, does not appear to be used elsewhere with an acc.; for Moschion fr. 7 p. 633 N. πρῶτον δ' ἀνεμι καὶ διαπτύξω λόγῳ ἀρχὴν βροτείου καὶ κατάστασιν βίου is indecisive. But that it was felt to be transitive seems to be shown by the indirect question which follows it in *Phoen.* l. c.; otherwise, we might be tempted to read ἐς τῶνδ' here.

211. θυγατρός, Lysidice (*Plut. Thes.* 7). According to Apollod. II 4, 5 the mother of Alcmena was Anaxo, the daughter of Alcaeus.

212. ἄν εἴη here applies to what is already ascertained (Goodw. § 238, *Hel.* 91 n.). Cf. Plat. *Euthyd.* 302 D οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτοι σοὶ θεοὶ ἄν εἶεν;

213. γένους: so you stand in respect of birth to them. ἦκεις is the personalised form of the phrase which occurs in *Alc.* 291 καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς καθανεῖν ἦκον βίου. The notion underlying ὡδε ἦκειν is that of having reached a certain position, and the gen. expresses the sphere within which. Cf. *El.* 751 πῶς ἀγῶνος ἦκομεν; It is worth notice that the phrase in its personalised form is common in Herodotus. See also on *Hel.* 313.

214. τοῦ προσηκόντος: relationship (not as L. and S.).

216. **σύμπλους** must be joined with *Θησεῖ* in 217.

**ὑπασπιζων.** The Homeric warrior fought as a unit and carried a large shield, which sufficed for his own protection. But the Dorians introduced the close battle-array, in which the right side of the combatant was protected by the shield of his neighbour (*παρ' ἀσπίδα στήναι*). In applying the later practice to the heroic legends, Eur. speaks of the chieftain's right-hand man as his auxiliary (*παρασπιστής, ὑπασπιστής*, and cf. *Phoen.* 1073).

217. **ζωστήρα.** The quest of Hippolyte's girdle for Admete was counted the ninth of the labours of Heracles. Theseus is said to have received Antiope as a prize for his share in this expedition (Pausan. I 2. 1, Diod. IV 16, Plut. *Thes.* 26). This part of the story can be traced to Agias (Hegias) of Troezen, the author of the *Νόστοι*, and must have been known to Euripides. But it is extraordinary that nothing is said of the reward which Theseus received from Heracles; for this is the only object for which the expedition is mentioned at all (220). It is also to be observed that *ἐξανήγαγεν* is introduced with remarkable abruptness in 218. Murray favours and Weckl. adopts the view of Kirchhoff that *φημι...πατρὶ* has displaced *φησὶ...πατῆρ*; but not only does this fail to account for the omission of Theseus' reward, but what then becomes of *ὑπασπιζων*? It would surely be odd to speak of Heracles as the auxiliary of Theseus. I feel confident that there is a lacuna after this *υ.*, in which the Antiope incident was mentioned, and am glad to find that this was also the opinion of Dobree (*Adv.* II p. 100).

**πολυκτόνον**, as causing many deaths. So *H.F.* 415 *ζωστήηρος ὀλεθροῦς ἄγρας*.

218. "**Αἰδου** : the rescue of Theseus from his imprisonment in the underworld by Heracles in the course of his twelfth labour is well known; cf. *H.F.* 1170.

**ἐρεμῶν** (see cr. n.) is a more suitable epithet of *γῆς ἀνήλιου μυχοί* than *ἐρυμῶν* (perhaps 'inaccessible'), which Murray alone retains.

220. **ἀπαιτούσιν** : request as of right. *αἰτῶ* and its compounds rarely take an infin. in place of the acc. of a noun as object, but cf. *Suppl.* 385 *Θησεύς σ' ἀπαιτεῖ...θάψαι νεκρούς*, *Rhes.* 174.

221 f., slightly altered from 97 f. and in consequence rejected by many editors. There are further grounds for suspicion in the corruption of 223 and the borrowed phrase in 225, but I don't think

that a sufficient case has been made out for the excision of all or any of these lines. For a suggested explanation of the repetition see *Introd.* p. xxxvii.

223. See *cr. n.* Wilamowitz is right, I think, in treating *κακόν* as derived from *κακῶν*, a correction of *κακῶς* in 224. *ἐν* cannot be adverbial, as in *Soph. O. T.* 27; for (1) Eur. does not so use *ἐν*, and (2) adverbial *ἐν* is always followed by *δέ* (not *τε*). We must therefore regard *ἐν τῇ πόλει* as contrasted with *χωρίς*—both individually and before the state, *i.e.* in your civic position as chief magistrate. For *ἐν* so used cf. *Hērḗ.* 1320 *σὺ δ' ἐν τ' ἐκείνῳ κἀν ἐμοὶ φαίνῃ κακός*, *Soph. O. T.* 677 *ἐν δὲ τοῖσδ' ἴσος*. The forensic *ἐν* (*Andr.* 336, *Soph. Ant.* 459) is a special case of this.

224. Each of the words is to be taken separately, with *συγγενεῖς* marking the climax. Note the rhetorical asyndeton: *inf.* 230, *Hec.* 280.

225. *βλέψον πρὸς αὐτοὺς βλέψον* occurs in *Alc.* 390. For the characteristic anaphora cf. 307, *Hel.* 176 n.

226. *χεροῖν*. The view that this word is governed by *πρὸς* is untenable, not for grammatical reasons but because *Hec.* 752 *ικετεύω σε...δεξιᾶς τ' εὐδαίμονος*, *Hērḗ.* 605 *ναὶ πρὸς σε τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς εὐωλένου* are insufficient to justify an appeal *πρὸς χεροῖν*. There can be no doubt of the meaning, if we compare *Andr.* 894 *στεμμάτων δ' οὐχ ἤσσονας σοῖς προστίθημι γόνασιν ὠλένας ἐμάς*—‘I wreath thee with my arms,’ as if with suppliant branches. Eur. rings the changes on this to us somewhat euphuistic metaphor: *I. A.* 1216 *ικετηρίαν δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν*, *Or.* 383 *ἀφύλλου στόματος ἐξάπτων λιτάς*. Weckl. oddly supposed that Iolaus actually bears the branches in his hands.

227. *μή*: see *cr. n.* I have adopted Kirchhoff's bold remedy, thinking that *καὶ* is impossible and may have arisen from a desire to link *πρὸς γενείου* to the previous line. Murray punctuates *καὶ...*, but it is questionable if such an aposiopesis is Euripidean. Usener rejected the line.

228. *λαβεῖν*: see *cr. n.* The terminations are constantly confused, and the sense requires the change; for Demophon cannot be said to have taken the children under his protection, while the issue is still doubtful. The *inf.* depends directly on *ἀτιμάσῃς* (‘scorn’): it would be wrong to take *παῖδας* as object, with *λαβεῖν* epexegetic: see Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 608 *οὐκ ἀτιμάσω θεοὺς προσει-*

πεῖν. Cf. Plat. *Lach.* 182c μὴ ἀτιμάσωμεν εἰπεῖν, Aesch. fr. 244 μὴ μ' ἀτιμάσης μολεῖν. For the thought cf. *Hec.* 281, fr. 866.

230. ἅπαντα: i.e. submission to Demophon is better than subjection by the Argives. The remark is prompted by δεσπότης, the climax of the preceding appeal.

231. πλὴν takes the place of the normal ἤ. The various conjunctions of comparison were not definitely assigned to their respective spheres, until an artistic prose style was developed. Thus ὡς appears for ἤ: Aesch. *Prom.* 629. In fr. 731 we have a further redundancy: οὐκ ἔστι κρείσσον ἄλλο πλὴν κρατεῖν δορί. Compare the analogous history of the Engl. *but*: Abbott's *Shaksp. Gramm.* § 127.

ἵπ' Ἀργείοις πεσεῖν, 'to fall into the power of Argos,' is normal. So Thuc. VII 64 ὑπὸ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις γίγνεσθαι, to *pass* under the sway of Syracuse.

232. ὄκτιρ': for the aor. see Goodw. § 60.—συμφορᾶς is the so-called causal gen. after verbs of emotion: cf. 447, Aesch. *Ag.* 1320 οἰκτίρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου. It is a moot point whether this idiom is ablatival in origin or belongs to the sphere of the true gen.: Kuehner-Gerth § 420, 1.

233. τύχης: abl.-gen. after a verb expressing comparison, and according to the analogy of ἠτῶσθαι. Cf. *Med.* 315 κρεισσόνων μικρόμενοι (Wecklein). In prose it is very rare, as in Antiph. 5. 87.

234. νῦν δῆ: now at this very moment I see—aor. as in 232. Contrast Ar. *Ran.* 410 νῦν δῆ κατείδον, where νῦν δῆ means *just now*, and see Shilleto on Dem. *F.L.* § 72. μάλιστα qualifies *νικωμένην*.

236. συμφορᾶς. The context shows that συμφορά cannot mean 'misfortune,' and that τ. σ. ὁδοί means 'three aspects of the case' (*vizae quibus casus hic spectari potest*: Musgr.) is difficult to believe. Verrall proposes συμφοραῖς, i.e., I suppose, *by their conjunction*; but this leaves ὁδοί awkwardly isolated, with Ζεὺς...τό τ' αἰσχρόν following. Wecklein adopts Schmidt's *συννοίας*, with which cf. *Hec.* 744 σὼν ὁδὸν βουλευμάτων. In default of anything better, I hazard the conjecture that συμφορά might bear a sense derived from that of the verb in *Med.* 13 αὐτὴ τε πάντα συμφέρουσ' Ἰάσονι, i.e. *compliance*.

The three motives are (1) religious duty, (2) kinship and gratitude, and (3) honour. Thus the several pleas of Iolaus are accepted.

Copreus had urged the double claim of (1) justice (139—146), and (2) expediency (147—178). Iolaus replied by denying (1) (184—190), and as against (2) by setting up the claim of honour (191—201). He added reasons why the Heraclidae were entitled to the special protection of Athens, kinship (205—212) and gratitude (214—223).

237. Elmsley substituted *τούσδε* for *τοὺς σοὺς*, and Kirchhoff *λόγους* for *ξένους*. But the MSS. reading, although somewhat unnatural, cannot be said to be impossible.

238. *τὸ μέγιστον*: 169 n.—Wherever *μέν* is followed by *τε*, as here and in 340, there is in effect an anacoluthon. Here *τε* is used to avoid the introduction of *τὸ δὲ δεύτερον*. The student will find a full discussion in Bury's Appendix A to his edition of Pindar's *Isthmians* pp. 156—161. See also *Phoen.* 57 (Wecklein), *Tro.* 134, *Suppl.* 1036.

*ἐφ' οὗ*: at whose altar thou sittest, i.e. at the steps of the altar: 79. Cf. *Ion* 1258 *ἕζε νυν πυρᾶς ἐπι*. *Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος* is here identified with his shrine.

241. *χάριν*, strictly an acc. in apposition to the sentence, is becoming adverbial in combinations like *ἐμὴν χάριν*. From this point its development as a preposition was easy: cf. *Ion* 1587, *Hel.* 150 n.

243. *εἰ παρήσω* here differs but slightly from *ἐὰν παρῶ*: see Goodw. § 447.

244. *πρὸς*: 77 n.

245. *οἰκεῖν* = *διοικεῖν*, i.e. to govern in the limited sense of administering domestic or internal affairs (see *C.R.* XII 116). Cf. *Ion* 1295 *οἰκεῖν τᾶμ'*, *I.A.* 331 *τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκεῖν οἶκον*.

*Ἀργείοις* is altered to *Ἀργείων* by Dobree to suit 191.

246. *ἀγχόνης*: 'this comes near to strangling'—the refuge of despair. Cf. *Soph. O.T.* 1374 *ἔργα κρείσσον' ἀγχόνης*, *Aesch. Eum.* 746 *νῦν ἀγχόνης μοι τέρματ'*, *Eur. Alc.* 229, *Ar. Ach.* 125. The colloquial character of the phrase is shown by *Aeschin.* 2. 38: when Philip refused to speak to Demosthenes, *τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀγχόνη καὶ λύπη τούτῳ*.

247. *ῶφελος* with aor. inf.: see Goodw. § 734.

249. *σὺν παισὶ* qualifies the object: cf. 710, *Med.* 70 *τούσδε παῖδας γῆς ἐλάν...σὺν μητρὶ μέλλου*. For illustrations of *μετά* so employed see Shilleto on *Dem. F.L.* § 333.



**ὅπως...ἀποσπάσει.** The student should observe that *ὅπως μὴ ἀποσπάσει* would be equally good Greek in the same sense (Goodw. § 371). The subjunctive cannot be used in this construction, which is that of indirect discourse, but is permissible with *ὅπως μὴ*.

252. **δίκης** recognises the claims of international law, and at the same time suggests a contrast with *συλᾶσθαι*; reprisal was justified by Greek sentiment where legal compensation for injury could not be obtained. See an instructive passage in Dem. 51. 13.

253. The language takes a legal turn, prompted by *δίκης κηρήσειν*: 'not if I have a claim and am victorious in my plea?' For *δίκαιον* cf. 138 n. Murray rightly keeps *τι* as against Heath's *τε*, which appears in most texts.

255. **οὔκουν κ.τ.λ.** 'Is not this, if disgraceful to me, at any rate harmless to you?' It may be, however, that we should read *οὔκοῦν*, with a full stop in place of a question mark at the end of the line, giving practically the same sense. Those who keep *ἀλλὰ σοὶ βλάβος* are forced to supply something like *τὸν ἰκέτην σφῆζειν*, which the context does not permit. It is thought that *ΟΥ* may have disappeared before *CT* by haplography.

256. **ἐμοί γ'**: *scil.* *βλάβος ἐστίν*. Demophon is thinking of divine vengeance, as Wecklein points out. This is shown by *ἐξόριζε* and *θεοῦ* in the next two lines.

**ἐφέλκεσθαι** is middle: cf. 808.

257. **σὺ δ' ἐξόριζε**: *well then banish them*. No emphasis is laid on the pronoun in spite of its position: cf. 565, *El.* 532.

258. **πλέον**. I have reverted to the Aldine reading for reasons which will be given on 933. *πλέον φρονεῖν* occurs in fr. 606 (with the impossible *πλέω* as a variant) and in Plat. *Hiῑp.* *iii.* 371 A. In *Hiῑp.* 641 the more recent texts give *πλεῖον*' against authority. For the Attic forms see Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 152.

259. **τοῖς κακοῖσι** might be regarded as put sophisticatedly for *τοῖς ἀσθενέσι* (cf. 177), but the parallelism of *Ιον* 1314 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὸν οὐχ ἴζειν ἐχρῆν* and fr. 871 favours an identification with *τοῖς ἀδίκοις*.

260. Cf. Aesch. *Suῑp.* 190 *κρεῖσσον δὲ πύργου βωμὸς, ἄρρηκτον σάκος*.

263. I have removed the comma usually placed after *μηδέν*, which involves an awkward ellipse: 'if you injure the Argives in

no respect, (as you will not do) if you are wise.' As the text stands, βλάπτων is subordinate to σωφρονῆς, and the answer is: 'yes, if you are wise enough not to injure the Argives.' The participial clause precedes as bearing the main stress. But there is something to be said for Kirchhoff's σωφρονοῖς, which renders unnecessary the alteration of ἄν and the insertion of γ'.

264. βλάπτεισθ'. The imperative expresses an assumption (Goodw. § 254).

266. τοιοῦτος: 'of the same mind,' as in *Or.* 1680, Aesch. *Ag.* 1359. So τοιαῦτα = *that is so*: *El.* 645, *Hec.* 776.

267. γε μέντοι: *none the less*, with γε emphasising the preceding word, as in 1016. See Jebb on *Soph. O.T.* 442.

268. ἄρ': 895. Elmsley wished to alter οὐκ ἄρ' to οὐ τᾶρ' = οὔτοι ἄρα, wherever it occurred.

269. δῆ strengthens the participle, since, according to the proverb, πείρα θην πάντα τελεῖται (*Theocr.* 15. 62). εἶσομαι, as we might say 'I shall find out': see on 65.

270. κλαίων: *to your cost*. So in a parallel situation Aesch. *Suppl.* 925 κλαίεις ἄν, εἰ ψεύσεως, οὐ μάλ' ἐς μακράν. For ἐς ἀμβολάς cf. *Hel.* 1297: the preposition here denotes *manner*, as in ἐς τάχος, ἐς ἀρπαγᾶς (*Hel.* 904), and the original implication of aim or purpose has almost entirely disappeared.

271. This line might well recall the recent death of Anthemocritus, an Athenian herald sent to Megara to complain of encroachments on the sacred land, and supposed to have been murdered by the Megarians (*Pausan.* 1 36. 3, *Plut. Pericl.* 30. 3).

272. εἰ μή γ'. In response to a negative clause, γε pronounces for the affirmative (cf. 256): *scil.* θενω̄. There is a similar case in *Alc.* 492, 3.

276. αἰχμήν, collectively of a host of spearmen. So δόρυ (*inf.* 803), πέλτη, ἀσπίς (*inf.* 932, *Phoen.* 78), λόγχη (*Phoen.* 442).

278. Alcaeus, son of Pelops, succeeded to the kingdom of Megara by slaying a lion and winning the hand of the daughter of the king Megareus. Inasmuch as Heracles and Theseus were great-grandsons of Pelops (37 n.), Alcaeus must have belonged to a previous generation; but Eur. either overlooked the anachronism or thought it unimportant.—Eurystheus was waiting near Megara in order to be ready to march in any direction where the Heraclidae might find shelter: cf. 114 n.

279. **τάνθενδε**, where *τάνθάδε* might have been expected. Cf. *Med.* 1117 *καραδοκῶ τάκειθεν οἱ προβήσεται*, *Hec.* 731 *τάκειθεν γὰρ εὖ πεπραγμέν' ἐστίν*, *Soph. El.* 1307 *ἀλλ' οἶσθα μὲν τάνθενδε*. The same principle is operative as in 141 (n.); where a verb of motion is used (e.g. *Bacch.* 49), the brachylogy is more obvious.

280. **λαμπρός**: *furious*, as in *Ar. Eq.* 430, 760. So probably in [Dem.] 25. 57 *ὡς πολὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ἔπνει καὶ λαμπρός*, which supports the view that the metaphor is taken from a strong gale which clears the sky (cf. *albus Notus*). Distinguish the meaning *brilliant*, as found e.g. in fr. 628.

281. **φυτοῖς** is, no doubt, an allusion to the destruction of olives and vines by the Lacedaemonians in their invasions under the command of Archidamus (*Thuc.* II 19 etc.).

282. **ᾧδε** is probably explained by *μή σε τιμωρούμενοι*, but might be taken as qualifying *πολλήν* and equivalent to *τοσὴνδε* in 316. For the general sense Elmsley well quotes *Herod.* VII 161 *μάτην γὰρ ἂν ᾧδε παράλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλείστον εἴημεν ἐκτμημένοι, εἰ Συρηκουσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης*.

**κεκτῆμέθα**. This is the recognised Attic form of the optative: so *μεμνήμην*, *βεβλήμην*, *κεκλήμην* etc. (*Cobet Nou. Lect.* p. 223ff.). The best authorities now regard the forms in *-ώμην*, which appear sporadically in MSS., as corrupt.

284. **φθέρου** as a form of imprecation (*Andr.* 715) is as early as Homer. That it was still colloquial appears from its usage in *Aristophanes*.

**τὸ σὸν Ἄργος**: contemptuously, with the force of the Lat. *iste*. Cf. *Hipp.* 113 *τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω*, *Soph. El.* 1110 *οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν κληδόν'*, *Phil.* 1251 *τὸν σὸν οὐ ταρβῶ φόβον*.

285. **ἐμελλες**: *it was not likely that you would...* *Copreus* has now left the stage, as the tense shows. So *Med.* 1354 *σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐμελλες...τερπνὸν διάξειν βλοστον κ.τ.λ.*

286. **πόλει** was altered by Elmsley to *πόλιω* on the ground that *ὑπήκοος* requires a genitive, but the dative seems defensible: see *Kuehner-Gerth* § 423, 8.

290. **Μυκηναίων**: see on 187.

291. **ἐπὶ τοῖσι**: *after this*. The use of the article for the demonstrative survived only in certain combinations, and the tragedians doubtless archaised in employing it freely. Cf. *Suppl.*

207 πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι, Plut. *Euthyd.* 303 B ἐν δὲ τοῖς καὶ τοῦτο μεγαλοπρεπέστερον. The Thucydidean ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι (I 6 etc.) still awaits explanation.

292. κήρυξι: for the sentiment cf. fr. 1001 αἰέ ποτ' ἐστὶ σπέρμα κηρύκων λάλον. Eur. is elsewhere bitter against heralds (*Tro.* 424, *Or.* 895); to his mind the dignity of the office did not excuse, but rather magnified the unworthiness of the individual.

293. 'To build up a tale twice as big as the truth.' τῶν γιγνομένων is gen. of comparison after δις τόσος: cf. *El.* 1092 δις τόσως ἐμέ κτείνας ἀδελφῆς ζῶσαν. So after δεύτερος: Herod. VI 46 δευτέρῳ ἔτεί τούτων. If the construction was originally ablatival, it was much extended by analogy.

πυργοῦν, of verbal exaggeration. So *Med.* 526 ἐπειδὴ καὶ λίαν πυργοῖς χάριν. Analogous but without any depreciatory tone (= simply to magnify, exalt) is *Suppl.* 998 πόλις...αἰοδαῖς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπύργωσε.

294. βασιλεύσι: the plural is allusive as in 99, 1055. So δεσπότηι *Ion* 233, ἄνακτας *Soph. O.C.* 295.

295. παρὰ μικρὸν...ἦλθεν: came within a little of...; construed with inf. following. Cf. *Isocr.* 19. 22 αὐτὸς παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθον ἀποθανεῖν, Eur. *Ion* 1514 παρ' οἶαν ἦλθομεν στάθμην βίου μήτερα φονεῦσαι. In this phrase, as in παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεσθαι, παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, παρ' ὀλίγον εἶναι etc., παρὰ strictly expresses in comparison with.

296. ψυχὴν...διακναῖσαι might be rendered 'to snap the thread of life.' The verb is used in *Aesch. Ag.* 64 of a spearshaft snapping, and Eur. affects it in the general sense of to destroy: see *I.A.* 27, *El.* 1307, *Alc.* 109. Paley finds a difficulty in the active where the subject is merely passive, but this is another application of the principle noticed on *Hel.* 1125, inf. 949, whereby the real agent is left out of account. *Alc.* 466 ματέρος οὐ θελούσας...χθονὶ κρύψαι δέμας, which Paley quotes, is a good example.

297. τοῦδε...ἦ. The expression is redundant, since either τοῦδε or ἦ might have been omitted. Cf. *Med.* 553 τί τοῦδ' ἂν εὐρημ' ἠῦρον εὐτυχέστερον ἢ παῖδα γῆμαι βασιλέως; The prose examples, from the Orators and Plato, are cited by Wyse on *Isae.* I 20. For a similar irregularity in Latin see *Madvig* on *Cic. de fin.* I 19.

299. γάμων: see cr. n. Since it is not the marriage of the

children, but that of the father which is relevant, it would be necessary to supply *πατέρα* as subject to *γαμείν* from *πατρός* in 298. But this is extremely harsh and unlikely. I have therefore, with Wecklein, adopted Musgrave's *γάμων*, but do not feel much confidence in the integrity of the text. The question is complicated by the fact that Stobaeus and Orion quote 297 and 298 with the addition of a line that does not appear in our MSS. *καὶ τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἀξίαν τιμὴν νέμειν*, and is clearly alien to the present context. It is also worth notice that the context of the present passage has nothing to do with the point which the extracts in Stobaeus are chosen to illustrate: viz., the duty of children to honour their parents. Murray, after Niejahr, brackets 299—301. The wisdom of choosing rank in preference to wealth in contracting marriage is inculcated also in *Andr.* 1279 and fr. 234.

**ὁς δὲ κ.τ.λ.** The construction is somewhat involved, but it appears that the clause *ὁς (=εἴ τις)...ἐκοινώνησεν* is an adverbial qualification of *τέκνοις...λιπεῖν*. Thus, if we compare *Tro.* 1166 *οὐκ αἰνῶ φόβον, ὅστις φοβεῖται μὴ διεξελθῶν λόγῳ*, we see that *τέκνοις...λιπεῖν* here takes the place of *φόβον*. For the employment of inf. after *ἐπαινώ* (analogous to its occasional appearance after *οἰκτίρω*, *μισῶ*, and *θαυμάζω*) cf. *Soph. Ai.* 1360 *τοιούσδ' ἐπαινεῖς δῆτα σὺ κτᾶσθαι φίλους*; *Andr.* 553, and for the gnomic aor. with the conditional relative *Phoen.* 509. Tr. then: 'I will not approve of his leaving disgrace...if a man consort with the base.'

302. **ἀμύνεται**: resists misfortune. For the sentiment cf. *Soph. O.C.* 8 *στέργειν γὰρ...διδάσκει καὶ τὸ γενναῖον τρίτον*, *Eur. Hel.* 1678. The latter passage also illustrates *μᾶλλον*—rather than not better than.

303. For the metre cf. 640, *Hel.* 1552.—**γάρ**=as for instance (explicative).

305. **τοσηῶσδ'**: in all the land of Greece. So 156, 411. For the gen. cf. 151.

306. **τῶνδε**, referring to the Heraclidae, who are included in *ἡμεῖς* (303, cf. 152), is awkward with *τούσδε* in 305 applied to the Athenians.

307. **δότε**: rhetorical anaphora, as in 225.—*δεξιάν*: a solemn pledge of loyalty. Cf. *Soph. O.C.* 1632 *δὸς μοι χερὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρθμίαν τέκνοις*, *Eur. Med.* 21 *δεξιᾶς πίστιν μεγίστην*.

308. **προσέλθετε** is addressed to the children, so that the words *ὑμεῖς τε παισὶ* are parenthetical.

309. **ἐς μὲν πείραν** κ.τ.λ. The connexion of thought is:—as we have proved our friends, so you must in the time to come requite them with gratitude.

310. **νόστος**: 1042.

311. **οἰκήσητε**: *take possession of* (note the tense). It is combined with *τιμὰς* by zeugma: cf. 1041, *Bacch.* 687 *ὠνωμένας κρατῆρι καὶ λωτοῦ ψόφῳ*. Elmsley thought that a line had dropped out after this such as *πάλιν λάβητε, τῆσδε κοιράνους χθονός*, and certainly an object to *νομίζετε* would not come amiss before 312. As it is, the object must be supplied from *φίλων* in 309, which is virtually demonstrative.

313. **ἀρεσθαι**: infinitive for imperative. It alternates with the imperative as in *Or.* 624 *μὴ τῶδ' ἀμύνειν...εἰ δ'*, Aesch. *Eum.* 1006 *ἔτε...κατέχειν*, and in several passages quoted from Herodotus by Kuehner-Gerth § 474a. This archaic inf. is common in the formal language of inscriptions: Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 244. For the historical allusion see on 1035.

314. **τῶνδ'** is neuter here. The sentence is made smoother, but the sense, I think, weakened by Kirchhoff's *μέμνησθέ μοι*, which Murray, with *τῆνδε* for *τῶνδε*, adopts.

315. **νομίζετ'** is carelessly repeated from 312. Cf. inf. 894, *Hel.* 674 n.

**ὑμῖν** is *dativus iudicantis*: cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1446 *ἀνάξιαί γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐστε δυστυχεῖν*.

316. **ποσῆνδε**: 305.—**Πελασγικόν**, *i.e.* Argive, as in *Phoen.* 107 etc. The name was applied to Argos partly from a failure to understand that the traditional *Πελασγικόν* "Argos (*Il.* 11 681) referred to Phthiotis in Thessaly, and partly in recognition of the pre-Dorian colonisation of the Peloponnese by tribes coming from the north, who brought with them the names Argos and Pelasgia.

317. **ἀπηλλάξαντο**: lit. removed from us so as to incur their enmity. There does not, however, appear to be any authority for the middle voice in this sense. Wecklein prefers to regard *ἡμῶν* as a genitive of price, 'bartered the hostility of Argos for us'; but this is equally without authority and seems less natural. Pflugk's *ὑπηλλάξαντο* is a late word. Musgrave prefers *ἐνηλλάξαντο*, comparing Soph. *Ai.* 208 *τί δ' ἐνήλλακται τῆς ἡρεμίας νύξ ἥδε βάρος*;

319. **ἐξέδωκαν**: 97 n.

320. **καὶ ζῶν** is entirely lost sight of in the apodosis, which is accommodated to **θανών** only (anacoluthon).

**ὅταν θάνω** is not so much tautologous as euphemistic. He avoids the direct assertion of coming death: *H.F.* 1331 **θανόντα δ' εὐτ' ἂν εἰς "Αἰδου μόλῃς** (Wilamowitz). Cf. *Alc.* 725 **θανῆ γε μέντοι δυσκλεῆς, ὅταν θάνῃς**, where the tone is scornful—'however late it be.'

321. **ὦ τάν** is certainly colloquial, but it is a mistake to suppose that it is undignified: *Bacch.* 802 proves the contrary, and confirms the gloss of Hesychius—**πρόσρημα τιμητικῆς λέξεως' λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπ' εἰρωνεῖα πολλάκις**.

**πέλας**: *scil.* ὦν. This ellipse is found occasionally with prepositional phrases: *Soph. El.* 61 **οὐδὲν ῥῆμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν**, *O.C.* 586 **ἐν βραχεῖ δὴ τήνδε μ' ἐξαιτῆ χάριν**.

322. **ὑψηλὸν ἀρῶ**: *exalt*, with proleptic adjective, as in *Suφrl.* 555. So *H.F.* 1333 **τίμιον ἀνάξει**, *Aesch. Cho.* 262 **ἀπὸ σμικροῦ δ' ἂν ἄρειας μέγαν**. For **ἀρῶ** (*ā*) contracted from **ἀερῶ**, future of **ἀείρω**, see *Jebb's Ajax* p. 217.

**εὐφρανῶ**: *scil.* *Θησέα*.

324. **εὐγενής**, *true to thy birth*, is used adverbially with **σφῆζεις**: so **ὄρκιος λέγω, ἰκέσιος λίσσομαι**, and cf. on 33.

327. **παύρων μετ' ἄλλων**. There is probably a reminiscence of *Od.* 2. 276 **παῦροι γάρ τοι παῖδες ὁμοῖοι πατρὶ πέλονται, οἱ πλέονες κακίους, παῦροι δὲ τε πατρὸς ἀρείους**.

**ἕνα...ἐν πολλοῖς**. From this passage Elmsley restored **παῦρον δὲ γένος <μίαν> ἐν πολλαῖς εὔροις ἂν ἴσως** in *Med.* 1087. The meaning is commonly expressed by **ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς** (*vel duo vel nemo* *Pers.* 1. 3): cf. *Dem.* 29. 12 **οὐχ εἷς οὐδὲ δύο**. Note that **εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν...Συρακοσίῳν** (*Anth. Pal.* IX 434) means 'one of the herd,' like *unus e multis*.

328. **ὅστις...μῆ**: the generic negative, *i.e.* such that he is (*Lat. qui sit*).

329. For the sentiment see on *supr.* 176.

330. **σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ**, *where justice is on her side* = **τῷ δ. συνοῦσα**. Cf. *Soph. El.* 430 **εἰ γάρ μ' ἀπόση, σὺν κακῇ μέτει πάλιν**.

331. **δῆ**, meaning *by now*, prepares the way for **καὶ νῦν** in the next line; it should not be taken exclusively with **μυρίους**, although that word helps the sense. Cf. *Il.* 2. 117 **ὅς δῆ πολλῶν πολιῶν κατέλυσε κάρηνα ἠδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει**.

332. **πέλας**. For the omission of *όντα* as supplementary participle in indirect discourse see *supr.* 21, and cf. *Soph. O. C.* 29 *πέλας γὰρ ἄνδρα τόνδε νῶν ὀρώ*, *Ant.* 580 *ὅταν πέλας ἦδη τὸν Αἰδην εἰσορώσι τοῦ βίου*.

333. **αὐχῶ** is often practically equivalent to our *think* or *expect*: cf. 832, 931, *Alc.* 675, *Tro.* 770. This is Demophon's answer to 310 ff.

334. **τοιαῦτ'**, referring to *σοί τ' εὖ λέλεκται*: *i.e.* their actions will correspond to your words. For *τοιούτος* see on 266.

**μνημονεύσεται**: middle form in passive sense. Blass has shown that, while Herod. uses both forms indifferently, in Attic writers the distinction usually is that the middle form represents the future of the *durative present* and the passive that of the *momentary aorist* (*Rh. Mus.* 47, p. 269 ff.). Tr. here: *will be kept in memory*.

335. **μέν** is answered by *δ'* in 340.—**σύλλογον ποιήσομαι** = will muster.

336. **τάξας**. With Wecklein, I adopt Kirchhoff's suggestion (see *cr. n.*): otherwise, the asyndeton in 337 is extremely harsh. It will be observed that *πέψω* and *θύσομαι*, though forming part of the same general proceeding, have no logical relation to *τάξας* (*τάξω*) other than that of sequence in time. Pflugk's notion that *πρῶτα...θύσομαι* expresses what Demophon will do on his own initiative, without waiting for the deliberations (*σύλλογον*) of the citizens, does not explain the asyndeton and is on other grounds objectionable.—For *ὅπως ἄν* introducing a pure final clause see Goodw. § 328.

337. **χειρί**: 1035, *El.* 629.

338. **μή**, as final conjunction, disappears almost entirely in Attic prose in favour of *ἵνα μή*, *ὅπως μή* etc.—*προσπεσών*: aor. part. of coincident time: see 121.

339. **βοηδρόμος**: quickly brought on to the field—mobilised, as we should say. This word and *βοηδρομεῖν* are affected by Eur. in other than a military sense.—*Ἄργει*: locative dative (360).

340. **τ'** should not be changed to *δ'*, since it is regularly used in place of *ἔπειτα* (*δέ*) to answer *πρῶτα μέν*: see on 240. Cf. *Med.* 125 with Wecklein's note.

**θύσομαι**: middle voice, because he is not the direct agent.

343. **ἀλλ' ἔθ'**: *nay, go*—as he shows no sign of complying with the request of 340.



344. οὐκ ἄν λιποίμι: *I will not leave* (Goodw. § 235). Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 343.

345. Cobet's εἰξόμεσθα is tempting, but unnecessary in view of supr. 34. The infin. might also be construed with μένοντες as in *Andr.* 256, Aesch. *Eum.* 677 etc.

348. Ἀργείων, *i.e.* than the Argives have.

349. For the connexion of Hera with Argos cf. *Tro.* 971, *Rhes.* 376.

350. Ἀθάνα. There is strong evidence in favour of this form in tragedy, and it is replaced by most editors even where the mss. give Ἀθηνα̂: see Porson on *Or.* 26.

351. ὑπάρχειν in a strong sense: that this *is a basis for* success. Cf. *H. F.* 695 τὸ γὰρ εὖ τοῖς ὕμνοισιν ὑπάρχει. For the sense Wecklein well compares Aesch. *Theb.* 514 κοῦπω τις εἶδε Ζῆνά του νικώμενον.

καί, which no English word exactly renders, is almost *above all*.

352. νικωμένη covers an allusion to the worship of the goddess as Νίκη Ἀθηνα̂ at Athens. Cf. *Ion* 457 ᾧ μάκαιρα Νίκα. Her image was wingless, and inasmuch as Victory was generally represented as a winged woman Pausan. III 15. 7 comments: 'Just as the Athenians have a notion about the Victory called Wingless, that she will always stay where she is because she has no wings.'

353 f. For the metre of this ode see Appendix C.

354. σοῦ πλέον: *regard thee not the more*: cf. 96.

358. μήπω is not absolutely equivalent to μήποτε: lit. I pray that Athens may not yet be in such case. 'Long may it be before...' Cf. Soph. *El.* 403 μήπω νοῦ τοσόνδ' εἶην κενή, Eur. *Hec.* 1278 μήπω μανείη Τυνδαρίς τοσόνδε παῖς. For the adverb οὔτω combined with εἶη cf. 369, 1055, *Hel.* 1273 (n.).

359. καλλιχόροις, 'with fair lawns' or dancing grounds, is a word which Euripides seems to have adopted from the lyric poets (Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides). See also Jebb on Bacchyl. 5. 106.

360. Ἀργεῖ, as in 339.

361. Σθενέλου: *scil. υἱός*, Eurystheus. Cf. *Il.* XIX 123 Εὐρυσθεὺς Σθενέλοιο παῖς Περσηιάδαο. The normal order in prose would be ὁ τύραννος ὁ Σθενέλου.

362. ὅς refers to σὺ in 360.

365. ἀντομένους, having taken refuge in our land. The word

is always aoristic in Homer (Monro *H. G.* § 32). It does not occur elsewhere in tragedy with this meaning, but is so employed once in Pindar, and several times in the *Iliad*. The object is always in the dative, and we must therefore conclude that the genitive is due to the analogy of *ἀντάω*.

367. ἔλκεις: conative present, as in 20.

βασιλεῦσιν: plural, as in 294, for it is improbable that there is a direct allusion to Acamas.

368. οὐκ ἄλλο: *nor urging any just plea*. ἄλλο ('besides') need not be translated: cf. Soph. *Phil.* 28 καὶ ταῦτά γ' ἄλλα θάλλεται ῥάκη. For the substantival δίκαιον see on 138.

369. ποῦ = *how*, but stronger than πῶς, in indignant or ironical questions: inf. 510, *Ion* 528 ποῦ δέ μοι πατήρ σύ; Soph. *Ai.* 1100 ποῦ σὺ στρατηγεῖς τοῦδε; *O. T.* 390 ποῦ σὺ μάντις εἶ σαφής; *So* οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπου in *H. F.* 186, Soph. *Ai.* 1069. καλῶς εἴη: 358.

370. παρά: 201.

371. We can hardly deduce a peace policy either from this or from the commonplaces of *Suppl.* 1100, *Tro.* 400.

374. οὕτως: *without more ado*. Cf. *Alc.* 680 νεανίας λόγους ῥίπτων ἐς ἡμᾶς οὐ βαλὼν οὕτως ἄπει, Soph. *Ant.* 315 ἢ στραφεῖς οὕτως ἔω; Distinguish the use of οὕτως in combination with an adv. such as ῥαδίως, = *quite easily*, etc. (*Plat. rep.* 377 B).

ἀ δοκεῖς: *scil. κερήσειν*. The neut. acc. of adjectives and pronouns, strictly an 'internal' use, is occasionally found after κερῶ and τυγχάνω. Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 714 κάκεῖ κυρούντων δώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα, Soph. *O. T.* 1298 ὦ δεινότατον πάντων ὅσ' ἐγὼ προσέκυρσ' ἤδη.

377. οὐ...μή...συνταράξεις. This should be treated as a prohibition, and such prohibitions are generally regarded as interrogative: see Appendix to *Hel.* 437. We cannot however print it so here with ἀλλ' ἀνάσχου following, without appearing to indicate a longer pause after πόλιω than is natural. Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 296 οὐ μὴ σκώψη μηδὲ ποιήσεις, ἄπερ οἱ τρυγοδαίμονες οὔτοι, ἀλλ' εὐφήμει. See also Goodw. § 298. ἐραστὰς is nom. with ὦν omitted. 'Don't, I pray, for all your love of war...' This ellipse is rare, but not indefensible: Goodw. § 875, 2. The vulgate, ἀλλ', ὦ...ἐραστὰ, ...συνταράξεως is due to Canter, Musgrave, and Barnes; the improvement effected by it, if any, is so slight as not to be worth the changes involved.

379. χαρίτων: rich in beauty. Cf. *I. T.* 1147 χαρίτων εἰς

ἀμίλλας, *Trø.* 835 σὺ δὲ πρόσωπα νεαρὰ χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις, *Bacch.* 236 οἰνώπας ὄσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων. For the genitive see on 213.

381. ὦ παῖ, from the old man to the younger.

ὄμμασιν. Fear or anxiety is expressed in the eyes: *Soph. O. C.* 729 ὄρω τιν' ὑμᾶς ὀμμάτων εἰληφότας φόβον νεώρη, *Al.* 140.

382. λέξεις (see cr. n.) is a great improvement effected by a very slight change.

383. μέλλουσιν: do they tarry?

384. ψεύσῃς. Murray's emendation, involving only the addition of one letter, is somewhat easier than that of Elmsley ψεύση σε... λόγος—for ψεύση cannot stand without an object as in some texts—and yields as good, if not better sense. 'For surely thou wilt not belie the herald's words.' For this meaning of ψεύδω cf. *Soph. Ant.* 389 ψεύδει γὰρ ἢ ἴπινοια τὴν γνώμην. οὐ μὴ with the second person of the aor. subj. is a denial, not a prohibition: *Soph. O. C.* 848 οὐκουν ποτ' ἐκ τούτων γε μὴ σκήπτρου ἐτι ὀδοιπορήσῃς. For οὐ γάρ τι see 193. The force of γε is:—whatever you say, it won't be that they have withdrawn.

385. εὐτυχῆς τὰ πρὸς θεῶν: favourite of the gods. The reference is to his unbroken prosperity, and there may be a tinge of irony; but in any case the remark is qualified by 388. *I. T.* 560 ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ πρὸς θεῶν εὐτυχεῖ δίκαιός ὢν is an instructive parallel. There is no allusion to sacrificial rites, as Paley supposes, for Iolaus could not have this information. Tyrwhitt's ingenious emendation is less pointed than the reading of the mss., and ὢν is not required (see on 386).

386. εἰσιν is a necessary change, because otherwise it would be impossible to separate ἐστίν from εὐτυχῆς, and the emphatic σάφ' οἶδα would be unwarrantable merely as a support for the assertion εὐτυχῆς...ἐστίν. καὶ links φρονῶν to εὐτυχῆς and the omission of a circumstantial ὢν with the adjective is justified by the balancing participle: *Or.* 457 δεῦρ' ἀμιλλᾶται...μελάμπεπλος κουρᾶ τε θυγατρὸς πενθίμῳ κεκαρμένος, *Goodw.* § 875, 4. καὶ μάλα, in the sense of *vel maxime*, is sufficiently common, but this is no reason why καὶ should not be used as a copula if so required: *Jebb* on *Soph. El.* 1178. For σμικρὸν φρονῶν see on 932.

387. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. It is a nice question whether these words should be taken with εἰσιν or with οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν. For the

latter cf. *Hipp.* 6 σφάλλω δ' ὄσοι φρονούσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα. On the other hand, εἶσιν is improved by the complement, and most editors favour this view.

**ἀλλά** κ.τ.λ. These words might be regarded as the leading motive of the plot: see *Introd.* p. xxiii. From *Aesch. Pers.* 827 Ζεὺς τοι κολαστῆς τῶν ὑπερκόπων ἄγαν φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εἶθνος βαρὺς Wecklein reads ὑπερκόπων, but the carelessness of style is just like *inf.* 894, *Hel.* 698 (n.).

392. οὐκ must be taken closely with ἀγγέλοισι: otherwise μή would be required. The contrast between hearsay and the knowledge of an eyewitness is very common (*Hel.* 117, *Tro.* 481), but is here somewhat paradoxically expressed. Cf. *Soph. O. C.* 138 φωνῆ γὰρ ὀρῶ, τὸ φατιζόμενον, *Aesch. Theb.* 104 κτύπον δέδορκα. By the use of ἀγγέλοισι instead of δι' ἀγγέλων the messengers are treated as instruments of vision: for similar datives cf. *Thuc.* 1 25 Κορινθίων ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, *Herod.* VII 191 καταεἰδόντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμφ.

393. πεδία: the Marathonian plain was suitable for cavalry (*Herod.* VI 102).

ἐφήκε, 'launched' (*immisit*): *Aesch. Eum.* 502 πάντ' ἐφήσω μῦρον.

394. ὄφρῦν: acc. as in 55, *Or.* 956 τρίποδα καθίζων. The word is used in this sense by Herodotus.

395. δόκησιν δῆ must be taken together: 'now this is a conjecture that I will tell you.' For the word δόκησις, which often denotes an idle fancy, see on *Hel.* 119.

396 contains some corruption, which appears to have its seat in τανῦν. Musgrave's τ' ἄνευ δορός is printed in many texts, but (1) such passages as *Aesch. Eum.* 289 κτήσεται δ' ἄνευ δορός...σύμμαχον do not prove that it could mean 'without a battle' in this context; certainly, we could not translate by 'without the sword': (2) the introduction of Eurystheus' desire to avoid a battle is pointless. Wecklein has τέχνη δορός (*by what warlike stratagem*), for which he compares *Suppl.* 905. Reiske's ὄροις for δορός might stand, but fails to account for τανῦν. Verrall, reading πη for τε in 397, suggests that προσάξει = *praemunitione*, as if from σάπτω. Nauck formerly proposed τανύδρομος. ποία, of course, could stand alone for ποία ὀδῶ, as in *Ar. Av.* 1219.

397. χθονός after ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ. Cf. *Hipp.* 785 τὸ πολλὰ πράσσειν

οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βίου.—ἰδρύσεται: note the middle voice after the active in 396. In the former case the general is the direct agent: contrast 664.

398. μέντοι has incurred a good deal of suspicion, but the point surely is:—my preparations are made, although he has not yet arrived (393).

399. Note the explanatory asyndeton, and contrast 337 (n.).

400. ἔστηκεν. The victims are *in position*, ready to be sacrificed at the moment when battle is joined: cf. 819. Supply in the main clause τέμνεσθαι τούτοις θεῶν. Elmsley appositely quotes Herod. I 118 σῶστρα τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὐτῆ προσκείται.

401. θηπολεῖται, an intransitive verb used in the passive. This bold construction is elsewhere employed by Euripides: *I. T.* 367 αὐλεῖται δὲ πᾶν μέλαθρον, *El.* 691 ὀλολύξεται πᾶν δῶμα. Further illustrations are quoted in the note on *Hel.* 1434 γαῖαν βοᾶσθαι... ὑμνωδίαις.

δ' appears where τ' might have been expected, because the sacrifices in the town are treated as a fresh fact.—Presumably ἄστν is Athens, but it is clear that Eur. has not consistently carried out his conception of the scene of action. Marathon is actually more than 20 miles from Athens, but the distance here and elsewhere appears to be ignored: see *Intro.* p. x, note 2.

402. τροπαῖα is in apposition to the preceding clause: cf. 72. The rhythm of the line recalls *Suppl.* 1204 κάπειτα σφῆξιν θεῶ δὸς ἄ Δελφῶν μέλει, μνημεῖά θ' ὄρκων μαρτύρημά θ' Ἑλλάδι. There does not seem to be sufficient reason for suspecting the text, although Murray follows Tyrwhitt (see *cr. n.*), and suggests as an alternative that 402 might follow 404, if 405 were deleted.

403. ἀλίσας: this is an Ionic verb (*Herod. Xen.*), which occurs only twice in tragedy, here and in *H. F.* 412. It is generally regarded as connected with ἀλλῆς, and perhaps with ἀλία (*v. Lexx.*). But there are difficulties in referring ἡλιαία to the same source (*Wilamowitz on H. F. l. c.*).

404. βέβηλα: *public.* The history of the word is much the same as that of *profanus*, being transferred from localities to things and persons not protected by the screen of divine influence. The craze for oracles and oracle-mongers at the time when this play was produced is attested by *Thucydides* (*e.g.* II 21. 3) and *Aristophanes* (*Pac.* 1045 ff., *Eq.* 961 ff.).

405. **σωτήρια** can hardly be right after 402, even if we take into account the occasional laxity of style mentioned in the n. on 315. Wecklein supposes that the repetition is an accidental blunder, and suggests *κεχρησμένα*; but perhaps Wilamowitz is right in condemning the line, although not in his objection to *λόγια* in tragedy (Neil on *Ar. Eg.* 120).

406. **θεσφάτους**: see cr. n. The change is necessary, and the error is easily accounted for as the result of grammatical assimilation. The gist of this and the next line is that, though the oracles vary in many points, they all agree in one.

408. Note the explanatory asyndeton as in 399.

**Κόρη Δήμητρος**: cf. *Alc.* 358. Persephone, though not exclusively a goddess of the underworld, appears here in her Chthonian capacity as the recipient of an expiatory human sacrifice. Such sacrifices are never mentioned in the Homeric poems, but the stories of Iphigenia and Polyxena show that they are not later than the era of the epic cycle. The accredited instances of human sacrifice among the Greeks of historical times are comparatively few, and it was always regarded by them as foreign and unlawful (*I. T.* 465). See Stengel in Mueller's *Handbuch* v 3 pp. 89—91. It should be remembered that *Κόρη* was the official title of the goddess, for which *Φερέφαια* was the popular and *Περσεφόνη* the poetical substitute.

409. **ἤτις ἐστὶ**: *quae sit*. See Rutherford's *Syntax* § 292, Madvig § 105 (a).

411. **τοσῆνδ'** is not correlative to *ὡς ὄρᾶς* as if the latter were *ὄσσην ὄρᾶς*, but stands alone as in 305 etc. = *μεγάλην*.

413. **κακῶς φρονεῖ**: *is foolish*. See on 56. The Socratic *οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν πονηρός* illustrates the Greek failure to make a sharp distinction between moral and intellectual qualities (cf. *σκαίως, ἀμαθής*). Hence *κακῶς φρονεῖν* sometimes means *to be cruel*, as in *Med.* 464, and may be so used here.

414. **ἐκ χειρῶν** = 'from his protection' or power. So *Plut. Demetr. et Ant.* 3 *ἀφέντα μεγάλας πράξεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν*, and cf. *ἐς χεῖρας, ἐν χερσί*.

415. **ἄν** is repeated for the sake of emphasis: 721. *πικρὰς, angry*, seems a possible epithet of *συστάσεις* as employed here and in *Andr.* 1088: see cr. n.

416. **ἦν** is strictly past to *λεγόντων*, referring to the assistance already given, when Demophon repulsed the herald: 250ff.

417. **ἐμοῦ**: see cr. n. It seems better to adopt this easy alteration, when we find that Euripides elsewhere always employs the genitive of the person in combination with *κατηγορεῖν*.

418. **δὴ** balances ἤδη in the apodosis. With *εἰ δὴ* 'the condition is always one existing or about to exist at the moment of speaking' (F. W. Thomas in *Journ. Phil.* xxiii p. 107).—For the future cf. 243.

419. **ἐξαρτῦνται**: for the tense see 159.—*οἰκείος πόλεμος* = *civil war*, as in Thuc. i 118: cf. *Il.* ix. 64 *πολέμον ἐπιδημίου*. The opposite is *θυραῖος πόλεμος* (Aesch. *Eum.* 866).

422. **διαβληθήσομαι**: not *be slandered by* but *be set at variance with*. Cf. Plat. *rep.* 566 B *εἰάν δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν (τύραννον) ὧσιν ἢ ἀποκτείνει διαβάλλοντες τῇ πόλει*, *I. A.* 1372 *ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ τοῦθ' ὀρᾶν χρή, μὴ διαβληθῆ στρατῶ*. L. and S. fail to bring out adequately the prevalence of this meaning in Attic: see e.g. Isocr. 15. 175, Lys. 7. 27, 8. 7.

423. **ὥστε**, = *ὡς*, an Epic usage fairly common in Aesch. and Soph. but sparingly copied by Eur. Cf. *H. F.* 110 *ὥστε πολιδὸς ὄρνις*, fr. 757 *ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν*. For the sense Elmsley compares Aesch. *Pers.* 211 ff. (Atossa of Xerxes) *παῖς ἐμὸς...κακῶς δὲ πράξας οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει σωθεῖς δ' ὁμοίως τῆσδε κοιρανεῖ χθονός*.

424. The poet chooses to represent the principles of Athenian democracy as extending backwards to the legendary age: see on supr. 36. *δρᾶν* and *πάσχειν* are here, as elsewhere, mutually complementary: Aesch. *Cho.* 313 *δράσαντι παθεῖν, τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ*. In its requirement of such correspondence primitive justice is represented by τὸ 'Ραδαμάνθους δίκαιον, referred to in *Ar. Eth.* v 5. 3 *εἰ κε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο*. See also Theogn. 746. In *Or.* 646 the maxim is sophistically treated.

425. **ἀλλ' ἦ**: indignantis, 'an ergo?' *ἀλλά* marks the surprise: *Hel.* 490 n.

426. **χρήζουσιν**: see cr. n. The redundancy of *χρήζουσιν* after *πρόθυμον οὔσαν* would be inexcusable. The parallels usually cited do not seem to be to the point: in *Andr.* 18 *φεύγουσ' ὄμιλον* expresses the motive more definitely than *χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων*; in *Med.* 287 *ὡς ἀπαγγέλλουσί μοι* after *κλύω* insists on the actual quotation as the speaker had received it.

427. **ἔοικαμεν** and **ἔοικαμεν** are both new formations for *ἔϋγμεν*

which Scaliger wished to substitute, and *εόικαμεν* owes its thematic vowel to an extension from the singular: Brugm. *Gr. Gr.* § 132.

429. *ἐς χεῖρα*: have come *within arm's length* of the land. The phrase cannot be satisfactorily explained, with Elmsley and others, as derived from *εἰς χεῖρας συνάπτειν τινί* = to come to close quarters (Plut. *Pericl.* 22, *Philopoem.* 18). Rather, *ἐς* expresses the measure of distance exactly as in *Il.* XXIII 523 *ἐς δίσκουρα λέλειπτο*. Cf. *I. A.* 951 *οὐχ ἄψεται σῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ, οὐδ' εἰς ἄκραν χεῖρ' = even with his finger-tips*. Headlam in *Journ. Phil.* XXVI p. 237 quotes Galen *Gloss. Hippocr.* XIX p. 101 *ἐς χεῖρα: δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ πλησίον*. I transcribe, as a warning, Pflugk's quaint remark:—'elegans dictio, quasi *χεῖρα ὀρεγούση τῇ γῇ συνῆψαν*.'

430. *πνοαῖσιν*. See cr. n. The form *πνοή* is required by metre in other passages, and the authority of the MSS., which are not consistent, is very slight.

433. *τάλαινα*: *cruel*. When transferred from persons to things, the word has the sense of 'sorrow-giving.' Cf. *Hel.* 248 *ἔριν τάλαιναν*.

434. *τότ'*: 970 n.

435. *καὶ τὰ τοῦδ'*. The connexion of thought is: it is hope which has betrayed me, for Demophon cannot be blamed. *καὶ* serves to emphasise *τὰ τοῦδ'* by contrasting the king's conduct with the treachery of hope. Cf. *Hel.* 758 n.

*εἰ = ὅτι* after *συγγνωστά*: Goodw. § 494.

436. *αἰνέσαι δ' ἔχω κ.τ.λ.* This passage is difficult and has given trouble to recent editors. Wecklein condemns 437 f. entirely, and regards *αἰνέσας δ' ἔχω* as the climax of *συγγνωστά*:—'rather I must praise it.' It is generally thought that *τάνθάδ'* means 'our treatment by the citizens,' which is contrasted by *καὶ* with the conduct of Demophon, but 438 shows that this is a false antithesis. We should rather explain:—'But I don't complain even of our present lot'—contrasted with former joy (*τότε*, 434). Then the explanatory asyndeton is natural:—'If it is now the gods' will that I should fare thus, in no wise dost *thou* lose my thanks.' He cannot feel resentment towards Demophon because the gods have hindered him from rendering assistance in full measure. *αἰνέσας ἔχω* is equivalent to a perfect (Goodw. § 47), but is out of place here, where the acquiescence is not past but present. For this



reason Valckenaer's *αἰρέσαι* is a great improvement, if not absolutely necessary.

437. εἰ...δῆ: 418.—τάδε with *πράσσειν* where οὔτω might have been expected. Cf. *El.* 1359 εὐδαίμονα πράσσει, *Or.* 538 θανοῦσ' ἔπραξεν ἔνδικα, *Alc.* 1023 πράξας δ' ὁ μὴ τύχοιμι. So in late prose: Holden on *Plut. Demosth.* 24. 1. In L. and S. the examples of this usage are not clearly distinguished from those of *πράσσειν το ἀchieve*.

438. σοί, altered by Elmsley to σή, is defended by *Rhes.* 338 χάρις γὰρ αὐτῷ Πριαμιδῶν διώλετο, which Paley quotes. The double aspect of χάρις is sometimes perplexing; it might be said that the Greeks objectified the boon as if it were afterwards returned identical in substance: so *χάριν καταθέσθαι*. For οὔτοι...γ' cf. 64.

439. δ': for the order see on 153.—The future indicative is often used in place of the subjunctive in direct or indirect questions of doubt (Goodw. § 68).

440. ἄστεπτος: 124.

441. ποῖον γαίης ἔρκος: a bulwark in what land. The so-called hypallage is explained by treating γαίης ἔρκος as a single notion. Cf. *Soph. El.* 1390 τοῦμὸν φρενῶν ὄνειρον, *Ant.* 794 νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον (Jebb).

442. δῆ=ἦδη. For its position at the end of the line cf. *Hel.* 134.

443. ἐμοῦ is placed early for the purpose of contrast. 'For myself I care not if...' Cf. *Med.* 346 τοῦμοῦ γὰρ οὐ μοι φροντίς, εἰ φευξοῦμεθα, κέλινος δὲ κ.τ.λ.

444. For the sentiment cf. *Soph. Ai.* 79 οὔκουν γέλως ἦδιστος εἰς ἐχθροὺς γελᾶν; *El.* 1152 φροῦδος αὐτὸς εἰ θανῶν γελῶσι δ' ἐχθροί.

447. βίου. The gen. after an adj. corresponds to the use after verbs explained on 232.

449. χρῆν: we were doomed as it now seems. The word expresses merely past necessity: Goodw. § 417. So in *Hec.* 629 ἐμοὶ χρῆν συμφορὰν...γενέσθαι...ὅτε κ.τ.λ.

451. οἶσθ' ὄ...σύμπραξον; The Greek imperative is more flexible than that of most languages and can be used in a subordinate clause. The old explanation of οἶσθ' ὁ δρᾶσον (*Hel.* 315 n.) as 'do—you know what,' which was first given by Bentley, is now discredited. The imperative should be translated 'you must aid me'; compare its use in relative clauses, and after ὅτι and ἐπεὶ.

454. μήτε is answered by τε as often: inf. 605, *Hel.* 156. The effect of the combination is to lay stress on the second clause: Adam on Plat. *rep.* 430 B. The converse order does not occur.

455. Similarly Iphigenia in *I. A.* 1385 καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ τοί τι λίαν ἐμέ φιλοψυχεῖν χρεῶν.

Ἦτω is the formula of resignation—'be it so' or 'let it pass.' Cf. *Med.* 819, *Hel.* 1278. This is better than to supply ἡ ἐμή ψυχὴ as subject, with Wecklein.

456. Bothe's alteration μάλιστα δ' ἐμέ βούλοισ' ἄν is at first sight specious; for the emphatic form of the personal pronoun seems natural. But the enclitic με is justified, because Iolaus has twice in the preceding lines indicated himself as being primarily concerned (ἐμ' ἔκδος and τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν). Thus the sequence of thought is:—surrender me; Eurystheus would like it (με λαβὼν καθυβρίσαι) best of all. Cf. *Soph. Phil.* 46 f. μὴ καὶ λάθη με προσπεσῶν ὡς μάλλον ἂν ἔλοιτό μ' ἢ τοὺς πάντας Ἀργείους λαβεῖν, with Jebb's note. In *supr.* 64 the conditions are different.—For the spondee in the fifth foot cf. 303.

457. Observe how in the sequel Eurystheus falls into the hands of his enemies (cf. 879 ff.); his ὕβρις leads directly to his ruin, and we have the genuine tragic περιπέτεια: see *Introd.* p. xxiv. Cruelty to a fallen foe may have been tolerated by ordinary Greek morality, but was repugnant to the liberal sentiments of enlightened Athens (966). The concluding words of this speech are full of significance, and are a condemnation in advance of Alcmena's conduct in the closing scene.

458. σκαιός: see on 413. σκαιός, meaning originally *clumsy* (δεξιός, expresses the lack of sympathy and refinement, which come from gentle nurture and a liberal education. From *Plut. poet. aud.* II p. 31 F Wyttenbach deduces the Stoic definition of σκαιότης as ἀμαθία καὶ ἄγνοια τοῦ προσφιλῶς ἅμα καὶ κεχαρισμένως ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν. The best of his illustrations is from *Plut. arophth.* p. 178 B: when Lasthenes of Olynthus and the other Macedonizing Greeks complained to Philip of being called traitors by his household, σκαιοὺς ἔφη φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, καὶ τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντας. For the sentiment which follows cf. *H. F.* 299 φεύγειν σκαιοὺν ἀνδρ' ἐχθρὸν χρεῶν, σοφοῖσι δ' εἰκειν κ.τ.λ., *El.* 294 ἐνεστι δ' οἶκτος ἀμαθία μὲν οὐδαμοῦ σοφοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν.

459. ἀμαθεὶ φρονήματι: *unfeeling pride*, as it is translated by

Verrall on *Med.* 223. ἀμαθής is closely related in meaning to σκαίβς, but is both wider and stronger. For the Euripidean instances Verrall's note should be consulted.—φρόνημα: abstract for concrete, as in 108, 580, 706.

460. αἰδοῦς: *mercy*. It is the act of an adversary who, with the right to retaliate, refrains from exercising it. Cf. Antiph. 1. 27 ὑφ' ἑμῶν καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἀπολομένη, καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσα μήτ' αἰδοῦς μήτ' ἔλλου μήτ' αἰσχύνῃς μηδεμιᾶς παρ' ἑμῶν, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἂν τύχοι τιμωρίας. In the law of homicide αἰδεῖσθαι and αἰδώς are technically applied to the appeasement of the dead man's kindred (Dem. 23. 72 etc.).

καὶ δίκης. The vulg. κἀτυχῆς is an emendation of Barnes for the Aldine καὶ τύχης and has no authority. But I am persuaded that καὶ δίκης is corrupt. δίκης τυχεῖν is either (1) to be punished (*Hērō.* 672), or (2) to obtain satisfaction (Dem. 21. 142, Plut. *Alex.* 10), and is here entirely out of place; to speak of obtaining justice from an opponent who is ready to be generous is an anticlimax. What we require is rather the normal contrast of Mercy with Justice, as in Antiphon l.c. Cf. *Hec.* 271 where τῶ μὲν δικαίῳ τόνδ' ἀμιλλῶμαι λόγον is opposed to 286 ἀλλ' ὦ φίλον γένειον αἰδέσθητι με. For these reasons I would substitute κἀν δίκη, which corresponds exactly to Portia's 'in the course of justice' (Shaksp. *M. V.* IV 1. 197). The semimythical connexion of αἰδώς and δίκη (Hes. *Op.* 192), noticed by Plato in *Prot.* 322 C, D and perhaps in *legg.* 943 E, may have been present to Euripides' mind, but cannot be used in support of the MSS. reading. Cf. Tyrtae. fr. 12. 39 γηράσκων ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει. Jerram translates δίκης by *equity* (= ἐπιείκεια), but without warrant.

461. ἐπατιῶ. Since Iolaus has shown no disposition to blame Athens, it does not seem likely that he should now be asked not to do so. The sense required is *don't make the city guilty of your surrender*, and towards this Valckenaer's τῶνδ' might be considered as contributing. But, inasmuch as ἐπατιῶσθαι is *to impute guilt in words* and not *to implicate another by act*, the text must be regarded with extreme suspicion. We need something like μὴ θῆς τῶνδ' ἐπαίτιον πόνον, which is however much too violent to be recommended. It does not seem possible to supply, with Jerram, '(don't blame us) if we refuse.'

464. ἀλλ' answers μὲν as in 997.

466. **πλέον**: *sc. ἐστί*. What does Eurystheus gain? Cf. *Hel.* 322 τί σοι πλέον...γένοιτ' ἄν; (n.).

468. **δεινόν**: *sc. ἐστί* rather than *εἰσί*. Cf. fr. 736 σπάνιον ἄρ' ἦν θανούσιν ἀσφαλεῖς φίλοι, fr. 628, 7. Thus βλαστώνοντες...νεανίαι is practically equivalent to an abstract noun: this construction never developed in Greek, but became very common in Latin prose (Roby § 1410). There are several examples in Thucydides, some of which have a singular predicate: IV 26 αἴτιον δ' ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεἰπόντες, III 36 προσξυνεβάλετο...αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες...τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεύσαι. See Kuehner-Gerth § 485 anm. 1.

470. **λύμας**: see cr. n. The acc. plur. is quite as good as the gen. sing. after *μεμνημένοι*: *πατρός* is objective genitive with *λύμας*. **προσκοπεῖν** here c. acc. = *to provide against*. But in *Soph. Ant.* 688 σοῦ δ' ὄν πέφυκα πάντα προσκοπεῖν *προ-* governs σοῦ with the meaning 'to watch on your behalf.'

474. **ἐξόδοις** is best taken as causal dative. Cf. *Andr.* 919 ταρβείς τοῖς δεδραμένοις πόσιν and see on *Hel.* 79. So *Aesch. Prom.* 974 ἦ κάμῃ γάρ τι συμφοραῖς ἐπαιτιᾶ; inf. 660. 'Don't impute boldness to me by reason of my forth-coming.' Some prefer to treat *ἐξόδοις* as the indirect object of *προσθῆτε*, with *μοι* as ethic dative, but a personal object is usually found with *προστιθεῖναι* in this sense (*Andr.* 217 etc.). It would be still less justifiable to follow the analogy of 63.

476. **σιγή**: cf. *Soph. Ai.* 293 γυναιξί κόσμον ἢ σιγή φέρει.

477. **εἶσω δ' ἦσυχον**. The almost oriental seclusion of women was a characteristic of Athenian manners, and was widely different from the freedom which they enjoyed in the Homeric age. Thus Euripides here and in many other passages is guilty of an anachronism: cf. *Andr.* 877, *El.* 343, *I. A.* 738, fr. 525, fr. 920.

479. **πρεσβεύειν**: *to stand at the head of*. Cf. *Plat. legg.* 752 Ε φημί χρῆναι Κνωσίους διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων αἰρεῖσθαι, 879 Β τὸ πρεσβύτερον οὐ σμικρῶ τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐστὶ πρεσβευόμενον ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κ.τ.λ., *Soph. Ai.* 1389 'Ολύμπου τοῦδ' ὁ πρεσβεύων πατήρ. It is followed by the gen. in the same way as other verbs and adjectives which express comparison. Palmer's ingenious *τεχθεῖσα* deserves mention, but is not necessary.

480 ff. There has been much difference of opinion as to the correct punctuation of this passage, and it is almost a case of *quot homines, tot sententiae*. The text as printed differs from previous

editions in having a comma after *περί* instead of after *τῶνδε* or *ἀδελφῶν*. In this way only is it possible to preserve the parallelism with 532, and for *περί* after *μέλει* cf. e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 780 *μέλει θεοῖσιν ὦνπερ ἂν μέλη περι*. I have also reverted to the practice of the earlier texts in placing a comma at the end of 479 instead of a full stop. Thus *θέλω πυνθέσθαι* becomes the principal verb, and is formally coordinate with *ἐξήλθον*; logically, however, it balances *ταχθείσα*, and *θέλω* appears by anacoluthon for *θέλουσα*: 'not appointed...but wishing to learn as a fitting person' etc. This transition to a finite verb is idiomatic: supr. 40—43. With *πρόσφορος* we must supply *πυνθέσθαι*, so that *ἀλλά...γάρ* prepares the way for *θέλω*; and *μέλει—περί* gives the explanation of *πρόσφορος*: 'I am a fitting person, because I am deeply concerned for my brothers as well as for myself.' Thus *δέ* approximates to *γάρ*: inf. 890. Lastly, it should be observed that *πρόσφορος* is due to the *personalising* tendency (681 n.) in Greek, and the general drift is:—'I am not commissioned...but I wish to learn *as it is fitting that I should* being nearly concerned.' For other views see Appendix.

482. *μή* is not merely the equivalent of *num*, introducing an indirect question, but expresses apprehension of a result feared. Cf. *Phoen.* 92 *προυξερευνησῶ στίβον μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται*, *Soph. Ant.* 1253 *ἀλλ' εἰσόμεσθα μή τι καὶ κατάσχετον κρυφῆ καλύπτει*. See also Goodw. § 369. In late Greek the purely interrogative use becomes common: Holden on *Plut. Pericl.* 35. 2.

483. *προσκείμενον*, 'added,' serves as the perf. pass. participle of *προστίθημι*. *ἐπί*, = over and above, enforces *προσ-*.

484. *δῆ* belongs to *οὐ νεωστὶ*: now and aforeside. *τέκνων* attaches to *μάλιστα*.

486. *δόμος*. Jacobs' emendation (see cr. n.) is adopted by Wecklein and Murray, and has in its favour that it seems to avoid a bad confusion of metaphor. Still it is not easy for us to judge to what extent a particular Greek metaphor was living or worn out, and *κατάστασις προχωρεῖ* (*Phoen.* 1266) is in itself quite as illogical as *δόμος προχωρεῖ*. Moreover, Euripides goes far in the identification of *δόμος* with its members, as may be seen from inf. 610, *Phoen.* 20, 624, *Med.* 114, *Hipp.* 792, *Andr.* 548, *Or.* 1538. And what can be more startling to a modern ear than *Bacchyl.* 9. 51 *τί μακρὰν γλῶσσαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ?*

487. *πάλιν αὖθις*, pleonastic as in 708.

490. See cr. n. The vulgate *κελεύειν πατρός ἥτις εὐγενούς*, due to Brodaeus, not only involves the alteration of *μητρὸς* and *εὐγενής*, but with *κελεύειν* after *σημαίνειν* gives a very awkward construction. Reiske, supplying *τόνδε* as the subject of *κελεύειν*, compared *Rhes.* 879 *ὑμᾶς δ'...χρεῶν Πριάμῳ τε καὶ γέρουσι σημήναι νεκροὺς θάπτειν κελεύειν*.

491. *χρῆ μὲν...χρῆ δέ*. For anaphora with *μὲν...δέ* cf. *Soph. O. T.* 25 *φθίνουσα μὲν...φθίνουσα δ'*. Variations of this idiom are (1) the substitution of a synonym for the same word repeated: *Med.* 21 *βοᾶ μὲν ὄρκους ἀνακαλεῖ δέ δεξιᾶς πίστιν*, (2) *δέ* placed alone without *μὲν*: *Phoen.* 563 *ὄψη...ὄψη δέ*.

492. *ταῦτ'*: the neuter pronoun represents an acc. of cognate meaning.

493. *σφάξειν*: see cr. n. and consult Goodw. § 127.

494. *οὐ σαφῶς*: not directly, but he hints. Cf. *Phoen.* 161 *ὀρῶ δῆτ' οὐ σαφῶς ὀρῶ δέ πως μορφῆς τύπωμα*, *Rhes.* 656 *ἀκούσας οὐ τορῶς, φήμη δέ τις...ἐμπέπτωκεν*.

495. *ἔξαμηχανήσομεν*: *find a way out of our difficulties*. There is no precise parallel, but *ἔκσαγηνεύω ἐκτραχηλίζω* and *ἐξυπνίζω* are more or less analogous. If an alteration is required, perhaps Matthiae's *μῆχαρ ἐξευρήσομεν* is better suited to *τούτων* than Hartung's *μηχάνημ' εὐρήσομεν*.

496. *ἡμᾶς...εὐρίσκειν*: *that we must discover*. Thus *λέγω* has the meaning of 'command,' and would normally be followed by an object in the dative. Sometimes however the agent is expressed by the acc. as subject to the inf. and the direct object falls out: *Or.* 269 *οἷς (τόξοις) μ' εἶπ' Ἀπόλλων ἐξαμύνεσθαι θεάς*, *Soph. Phil.* 101 *λέγω σ' ἐγὼ δόλω Φιλοκτῆτην λαβεῖν*. The process of development is similar to that by which *δοκῶ* and *δοκεῖ* acquire the meaning of *I am inclined* and *it seems good*, and *οἶομαι ἡγεῖσθαι* etc. appear to be used with an ellipse of *δεῖν* (Kuehner-Gerth § 473, 1 anm. 2).

497. There is an anacoluthon here, since in strictness the clause should have been subordinated to *λέγει*. For the return to a finite mood cf. *supr.* 43, 482.

498. *κάχόμεσθα*: are we held fast in this challenge (*λόγῳ* refers to 494) so that we may not be saved (as regards our safety)? The MSS. reading *κεύχόμεσθα* gives no tolerable sense. For the simple inf. after verbs of hindrance see Goodw. § 807. Cf. *Thuc.* I 25 *ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν*. It is noteworthy that Herodotus

has similar phrases : IX 37 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, 98 ἐν ἀπορίῃ εἶχοντο ὅτι ποιέωσι. Cf. Soph. *Ai.* 272.

499. γ' corroborates after a simple assent. See on *Hel.* 136, and cf. *Alc.* 376 δέχομαι, φίλον γε δῶρον ἐκ φίλης χερός, *Med.* 1395, Aesch. *Eum.* 435.

500. ξτ' : *any more*. Elmsley's Ἀργείων is a great improvement at trifling cost.

502. ἐτοίμη, for which perhaps Dobree was right in substituting ἔτοιμος (901 n.), is commonly employed without the verb substantive ; so πρόθυμος, δυνατός, δίκαιος, ἄξιος (Soph. *Ai.* 400), etc. Cf. *Hel.* 1523 n.

παρίστασθαι σφαγῆ : *to meet my death*. Herwerden and Palmer suggested σφαγεῖ, but the text is quite sound. The agents in a sacrifice are said ἐφεστάναι σφαγῆ (*Alc.* 547, *I. T.* 726) ; παρίστασθαι—'to come near' (Soph. *Ai.* 48)—is used of the victim or his sympathisers, whose attitude is passive : inf. 564, *Alc.* 1010.

504. αἴρεσθαι. Wecklein prefers ἄρασθαι without necessity. We might render the present 'to undergo the risk' )( 'to undertake' (aor.). αἴρεσθαι πόνους, νεῖκος etc. are common in Eur.

506. σεσῶσθαι. Nauck's brilliant and attractive emendation σφε σῶσαι is adopted by Wecklein and Murray. But I prefer the reading of the MSS., because the point at issue is not the safety of the Athenians, but that of the Heraclidae. Macaria's first question was : is this the only obstacle to *safety*? (498). Now she proceeds : my death will remove that obstacle, and safety is secured. There is of course a confusion in the form of words, since Macaria cannot be saved ; a somewhat similar difficulty is noticed on 800. For παρὸν cf. supr. 7.

μη θανεῖν is an alternative for the simple inf., as in 498.

507. οὐ δῆτ' : *surely not, scil. φευξόμεσθα*. So in *Andr.* 408 οὐ δῆτα τοῦμῶ γ' εἴνεκ' ἀθλοῦ βλου, 'verily they shall not (κτενοῦσιν) if my life can save him.'

ἐπέ τοι καί. In this combination, first explained by Porson in an elaborate note on *Med.* 675, καί strengthens the following word. Cf. 744.

ἄξια. The use of the plural of the predicative adj. in place of the singular is an Ionicism, and is peculiar to Thucydides among writers of Attic prose. Headlam (*Fourn. Phil.* 26. 234) quotes many examples from Euripides, to which may be added ἄξια *Suppl.*

1233, δεινά *Or.* 413, ἀδύνατα *H. F.* 1057. Our line is an echo of *Alc.* 804.

508. **στένειν μὲν** κ.τ.λ. is in fact, though not in form, subordinate to that which δ' introduces. Tr.: 'while we sit and moan...'

510. **κακούς**: *scil.* *δντας*, as in 332 n.

**ποῦ** = πῶς, as in 369 *ποῦ ταῦτα καλῶς ἂν εἶη παρά γ' εὖ φρονούσιν*; which might be regarded as a paraphrase of these words. 'How can this be seemly in the eyes of honest men?' For *ἐν* see on 223, and cf. *Soph. Ant.* 925 *εἰ...τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλά*.

511. **οἶμαι**, bitterly ironical, like *credo, opinor*: 968.

**τύχοι**: used absolutely only in verse, except when impersonal: cf. *Soph. Phil.* 275 *οἶ' αὐτοῖς τύχοι*, *Hel.* 1290 n. Distinguish the cases where *τυγχάνω* is used with an ellipse of ὤν, for which see Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* p. 342.

513. For the reading of the MSS. see cr. n. The correction in both cases is made by the original scribe. Wecklein adopts Kirchhoff's *ἄτιμα*, and Murray suggests *τί δ' οὐκ ἔπειτα*. The solution is doubtful, and, as the uncorrected reading may have been a simple blunder, I have retained the vulgate.

515. **ἀλητεύω**: see cr. n. All editors follow Stephanus, but the change is not necessary. The future indic. is elsewhere closely combined with the deliberative subjunctive: *Ion* 758 *εἴπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν ἢ τί δράσομεν*; *El.* 967 *τί δῆτα δρώμεν μητέρ'*; *ἢ φονεύσομεν*; *Soph. Trach.* 973 *τί πάθω; τί δὲ μήσομαι*; Elmsley notes that the aor. subj. is commoner than the present in these questions. This is true, but does not prevent the employment of the present in a proper case.

516. **δῆτ'** emphasises the preceding word, as in *Soph. Trach.* 1219 *τὴν Εὐρυτείαν ὁλοθα δῆτα παρθένον*;

**δῆ** here is practically equivalent to 'thereupon': 418 n.

519. **κακούς**. Note the strong emphasis thrown upon this word by its position.

520. **ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι**. 'But apart from this not even if...'  
The -δε (= *even*) of *οὐδέ* belongs to the hypothetical participles which follow.

**τῶνδε** κ.τ.λ. The genitive absolute is coordinated with another participle in the nominative. Cf. *Soph. Phil.* 171 *μὴ του κηδομένου βροτῶν μηδὲ σύντροφον ὄμμ' ἔχων*. Such variation is especially common in Thucydides: e.g. 1 2 *τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ'*



ἐπιμυγνόντες κ.τ.λ. In Latin prose it is a conscious mannerism : Liv. XXII 28 *et perfugis indicantibus et explorantem*.

522. ἦδη: *ere now*.—τῆδε refers to 521: thus, *i.e.* with hope of their own benefit. The line is parenthetical, explaining why the last mentioned contingency has been introduced. The reasons for disregarding it follow.

524. There is a double anacoluthon here: (1) κόρην ἔρημον stands at the head of the sentence as if it were to be the common object of the two disjunctive clauses, but does not suit παιδοποιεῖν; (2) ἐξ αὐτῆς might have been expected in place of ἐξ ἐμοῦ.

526. ἀναξίαν: *scil. οὔσαν*. Undeserving—because of my birth, which requires that I should act worthily of it; this is explained in what follows. So Polyxena in *Hec.* 374 συμβούλου δέ μοι θανεῖν πρὶν αἰσχυρῶν μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν τυχεῖν.

κἂν πρόποι: see cr. n. The unqualified assertion of the ordinary reading is quite unsuitable, but the difficulty is not faced by those who retain it.

527. μὴ is generic: 328. For the sentiment—*noblesse oblige*—cf. *Alc.* 601 τὸ γὰρ εὐγενὲς ἐκφέρεται πρὸς αἰδῶ.

528. σῶμα...τόδε is a mere periphrasis for ἐμέ: cf. 89, *Alc.* 636 οὐκ ἦσθ' ἄρ' ὀρθῶς τοῦδε σώματος πατήρ, *Hec.* 301 ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν σὸν σῶμ' ὑφ' οὐπερ εὐτύχουν σφῆξιν ἔτοιμός εἰμι, *Soph. Ai.* 758, *Dinarch.* I 38 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἐνίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῆ τὰ σώματα.

529. στεμματοῦτε: it was customary to wreath the victim at a sacrifice. Cf. *Lucr.* I 87 (of Iphigenia) *cui simul infula virgineos circumdata comptus...profusast*, *Verg. georg.* III 487 *saepe in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram, lanca dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta*.

κατάρχεσθ' in ritual terminology denotes the act by which the sacrifice is begun. Hence specifically it is the cutting of the victim's hair to be cast into the fire (*Alc.* 74), but is also applied to χέρνιβες and οὐλοχύται (*Od.* III 445). In *I. T.* 622 (coll. 40) it is the sprinkling of the victim's hair with water. In inf. 601 it is used broadly in the sense of *to consecrate*.—This line violates Porson's well-known canon that the arsis of the 5th foot must be short if it consists of the last syllable of a polysyllabic word. If the final cretic is composed of more than one word, the rule still applies, unless, when it is made up of a long monosyllable and an iambic word, the monosyllable belongs to the preceding rather than to the

following word: see 303. Two of the most notable exceptions will be found at *Ion* 1 and *Alc.* 671. Hermann explained the latter as due to the pause in the 4th foot, and thought that in the former the unusual rhythm was suitable to the description of a laborious effort. No such excuse will save this verse, but the conjectures—*κατάρχεσθε ξίφει* (Mekler), *κεῖ κατάρχεσθαι δοκεῖ* (Paley)—are not convincing. Verrall's *καὶ στέμμα τοῦτό γ' εἰ κ. δ.* assumes that the *στέφη* of *v.* 71 could be and were utilised for the victim's *στέμμα*.

531. **έκοῦσα κοῦκ ἄκουσα.** This pleonasm has no other purpose than that of emphatic assertion, as in *Andr.* 357 *έκόντες οὔκ ἄκοντες ... τὴν δίκην ὑφέξομεν*, *Soph. O. C.* 935 *βία τε κοῦχ έκών.* (In *Or.* 613 *οὔχ έκοῦσαν* is probably right.) In other passages there may be a more definite significance: Jebb on *Soph. O. T.* 1230. It is noteworthy that the device is common in Herodotus: *e.g.* 11 43 *οὔχ ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα.*

**έξαγγέλλομαι**, lit. I announce on my own behalf, passes to the sense of *offer*, which is commonly found with *έπαγγέλλομαι*. There is no closer parallel than *Soph. O. T.* 148 *ῶν ὅδ' έξαγγέλλεται* = *what he promises of himself*. For the simple verb cf. *Soph. Ai.* 1376 *Τεύκρω... ἀγγέλλομαι... εἶναι φίλος.*

533. **εύρημα** could not be combined with *ἠύρηκ'* without an attribute, unless it had come to connote something more than the verb (990 n.), and in spite of *El.* 606 it is probable that Euripides would have shrunk from so employing it: see *Med.* 553, 716, *Ion* 1518. It is strictly not a cogn. acc. but what Delbrück calls an *accusative of result* (*έλκος οὔτάμεναι, τέμενος τεμεῖν*). Cf. the concrete and somewhat colloquial use of the Engl. *find* (sb.).

**μη φιλοψυχοῦσ'**: a generic negative with causal implication is entirely in place here, 'quae non nimis amans vitae sim,' but has been doubted on grammatical grounds. Madvig's ingenious *τοῖς μη φιλοψυχοῦσί γε* deserves mention, but is quite unnecessary: see Appendix.

535. **φεῦ**: *admirantis*, as in 552.

**μέγαν λόγον**, *proud speech*, nearly always carries with it a suggestion of blame (*Soph. Ai.* 367 etc.), but cf. *Bacch.* 1233 *πάτερ, μέγιστον κομπάσαι πάρεστί σοι, πάντων ἀρίστας θυγατέρας σπείραι.*

536. **κλύων**: 847.—*πάρος*: like *παροιθε* (583).

538. **δράσειεν**: carry into effect. The verb is used as if *γενναίότερα* were the common object, but the awkwardness is in

some measure excused by the constant juxtaposition of λέγειν and δρᾶν: supr. 138. Not unlike is *Or.* 622 σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω δρᾶσω τε πρὸς. Cf. Herod. 190 χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν.

539. τὸ σὸν κάρα: periphrastic = σὺ, as in *Ion* 1476 ἰμάναιος ἐμός...ἔτικτε σὸν κάρα.

540. ἄλλ' after ἄλλοθεν has the force of εἰ μὴ or πλὴν. This is Homeric: e.g. *Od.* III 377 οὐ μὲν γάρ τις ὄδ' ἄλλος Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ Διὸς θυγάτηρ. So we find even without ἄλλος *Soph.* *O.T.* 1331 ἔπαισε δ' αὐτόχειρ νιν οὔτις ἄλλ' ἐγώ. I am responsible for the colon which is printed after ἐκείνου, by which the construction of the passage appears to me to be simplified and its force increased.

σπέρμα κ.τ.λ. If Ἡρακλῆος has to go (see cr. n.), as is now generally admitted, I much prefer Hartung's Ἡράκλειον to Elmsley's Ἡράκλειος; Matthiae, perhaps rightly, doubts if Ἡράκλειος can stand alone: cf. *I. A.* 524 τὸ Σισύφειον σπέρμα, *I. T.* 988 τὸ Ταντάλειον σπέρμα. Tr.: 'Seed thou art of that divine intelligence, true to thy sire.' This very remarkable phrase has received little or no attention from the commentators, who seem to assume that φρενός is a synonym of ψυχῆς, and that τῆς θείας φρενός is no more significant than θείου πατρός would have been: an examination of the use of φρήν in Euripides will soon dispel any such idea. I believe that the language was suggested by current philosophical speculation. It is at any rate worth notice that Anaxagoras treated *the brain* as the first development of the fetus, because it is the starting-point of sensation, and was much occupied with an explanation of the likeness between children and their parents (Diels, *Fragm. der Vorsokr.* c. 46 A 108, 111: cf. Arist. *de gen. anim.* IV 3 p. 769 a 9). Although the translation of Heracles (910) is quite sufficient to account for θείας, there is not improbably also a reference to the divine origin of the human νοῦς, which is expressly asserted by Euripides in fr. 839 and elsewhere: see now J. Adam in *Cambridge Praelections* p. 38 ff.

541. αἰσχύνομαι refers back to 474, which will also illustrate the causal dative. *H. F.* 1160 αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ τοῖς δεδραμένοις κακοῖς is simpler, because the speaker's own acts are referred to.

543. ἐνδικωτέρως. A collection of these forms is given by Dobree (*Adv.* II p. 208) and by Elmsley here, from which it appears that they are more common in Thucydides than in other writers.

Cf. *I. T.* 1375 *εὐλαβεστέρωσ*. The superlatives in *-ωσ* are more doubtful: Jebb on *Soph. O. C.* 1579.

545. **λαχοῦσα**. The idea of a gambling hazard was entirely foreign to the Athenian conception of the lot. Originally adopted under religious sanction, it was ultimately regarded as the chief instrument of the democratic constitution, by which equal rights were guaranteed to all the citizens.

547. **οὐκ ἂν θάνοιμι**: 344.

548. **χάρις**: *grace*, *i.e.* the benevolence which prompts an offering of free will. Cf. *Arist. rhet.* II 7 p. 1385 a 18 *ἔστω δὴ χάρις καθ' ἣν ὁ ἔχων λέγεται χάριν ὑπουργεῖν δεομένῳ μὴ ἀντί τινος, μηδ' ἵνα τι αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπουργοῦντι, ἀλλ' ἕν' ἐκείνῳ τι*.

549. **ἐνδέχεσθε**: *approve*. The word is not used by *Aesch.* or *Soph.* Elsewhere in *Eur.*, as commonly in *Herodotus*, it is followed by an acc. *rei*. Here the object must be supplied from *τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν δίδωμι*, *i.e.* my offer, and the words *καὶ...προθύμῳ* are an enlargement of *ἐνδέχεσθε*. For the absolute use cf. *Thuc.* VII 49 *ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης περὶ μὲν τοῦ προσκαθῆσθαι οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν ἐνεδέχετο*.

550. **προθύμῳ** is predicative, *to accept my zeal*. Cf. *Xen. mem.* II 6. 26 *τούτοις κοινωνοῖς καὶ συνεργοῖς τῶν πράξεων χρώμενον*.

555. **λόγον**: *scil. χρηστόν*.

556. **οὐ μὴν...γ'** is the negative of *καὶ μὴν γ'*: 130.

557. **δ'**: the addition is necessary, since an *asyndeton* is out of place here.—*ὠφελεῖς*: pres. in future sense: sup. 159, inf. 1049. *Wilamowitz* calls this the *dynamic* present, which is a better and more comprehensive name than *conative*.

558. **σοφῶσ κελεύεις**: *prudently thou dost abstain*. The connexion of the following words is:—don't suppose that I wish to implicate you. *Wecklein* boldly substitutes *φυλάσση*, but this is unnecessary; for, although *κελεύεις* appears to contradict 556, the expression of a reluctance to interfere is treated as a positive warning not to be influenced by him. *Musgrave* well observes that the reticence of *Iolaus* was prompted by the fear of incurring blood-guiltiness, if he urged the sacrifice. Cf. *H. F.* 721.

**μιάσματος τοῦμοῦ**: the pollution of my death. A violent death, even if self-sought, involves *μiasma*, and certain forms of purification would be incumbent on the relatives (*Plat. legg.* IX 873 C, D). But if *Iolaus* became the instigator of her death, he would incur pollution as much as any other homicide (cf. *τὸ τοῦτου μiasma* *Antiph.* 4 γ. 6).

The *μίασμα* was regarded as a physical infection: cf. the Aeschylean *προσβολή* (*Eum.* 600, *Ag.* 391).

559. *μετασχεῖν* = *μὴ μετάσχεις*. For this use of the inf. see Goodw. § 374.

*ἐλευθέρως*: free from all constraint; no one else must be responsible for my act. The same thought, the dignity of a voluntary act, appears in *Hec.* 550 *ἐλευθέραν δέ μ', ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάνω, πρὸς θεῶν μεθέντες κτείνατ'*. Cf. *Or.* 1170, fr. 247.

*θάνω*: the hortative first person sing. subj. is generally preceded by an introductory word (Goodw. § 257). Here the way is prepared by *μὴ τρέσης*.

561. *πέπλοις δὲ κ.τ.λ.* This prompting of modesty is described more fully in the case of Polyxena: *Hec.* 568 ff.

562. 'Since as for *death*, I will face its danger.' Cf. 502. *γε* contrasts *σφαγή*, the actual death which she does not fear, with the sense of loneliness expressed in 560. For *πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἰέναι* cf. *Med.* 403 *ἔρπ' ἐς τὸ δεινόν*, *Hec.* 516 *ἢ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἦλθεθ'...* Soph. fr. 322 *ὄστις δὲ τόλμη πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἔρχεται*. The absence of the article with *σφαγῆς* generalizes: see on *Hel.* 500.

563. *εὔχομαι*: *scil.* *πεφυκέναι*.

565. *σὺ δ'*: see on 257.

*ἀλλὰ*: 'at least.' Cf. *Hec.* 391 *ὕμεις δέ μ' ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ συμφονεύσατε*, Soph. *O. C.* 1276 (Jebb). This usage is originally elliptical: here = 'never mind yourself, but...'. The construction of *χρηῖζω* c. gen. pers. and inf. is characteristic of Herodotus: e.g. v 19 *ἐγὼ ὧν σευ χρηῖζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι*.

567. *ὦ τάλαινα παρθένων*: this Homeric partitive gen. (*διὰ θεάων*) survives here and there in addresses: *Hec.* 716 *ὦ κατάρατ' ἀνδρῶν*.

568. *κοσμεῖσθαι* is a word appropriate to funeral rites: *Hel.* 1062 (n.).

570. *τλημονεστάτην*: *bravest*—from the root-notion 'enduring.' So *Hec.* 562 *ἔλεξε πάντων τλημονέστατον λόγον*.

571. *εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖς*: the redundancy expresses his assurance. There are similar reasons for emphasis in *Hel.* 118. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 34, Soph. *Ai.* 993, *Ant.* 764.

573. *προσειπούσ'*. Notice that the participle, as often, bears the main stress of the sentence. *προσειπεῖν* is used of bidding farewell in *Ion* 665 *τῶν φίλων πλήρωμ' ἀθροίσας... πρόσειπε, μέλλων*

Δελφίδ' ἐκλιπεῖν πόλιν. So *Med.* 1069, *Hipp.* 1099, *Soph. Ai.* 538. The mss. have apparently been corrupted at the end of the line by the introduction of μοι from 574. It is in favour of Blomfield's correction as against Elmsley's πρόσφθεγμα δῆ that Eur. elsewhere prefers the plural of this noun.

575. τοιούσδε is proleptic: *Med.* 295 παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι σοφούς.—ἐς τὸ πᾶν σοφούς, not 'supremely wise,' but 'with such wisdom as is yours to meet every case.' So *Aesch. Eum.* 538 ἐς τὸ πᾶν δὲ σοὶ λέγω.

576. μηδὲν μᾶλλον. Elsewhere in Eur. we find an echo of the Heraclitean πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει (fr. 40 Diels): *Bacch.* 395 τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία, 427 σοφὸν δ' ἀπέχειν πραπίδα φρένα τε περισσῶν παρὰ φωτῶν.

ἀρκέσουσι is personalised: we should say, 'it will suffice.' *Soph. Ant.* 547 ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσ' ἐγώ, *O. T.* 1061 ἄλις νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ, *Plaut. capt.* 757 *satis sum semel deceptus.*

577. πρόθυμος ὦν: with all thy heart. The partic. is equivalent to καὶ πρόθυμος ἴσθι: similarly *Hipp.* 105 εὐδαιμονίης νοῦν ἔχων ὅσον σε δεῖ. The next line explains the closeness of the tie which claims Iolaus' supreme effort on this occasion. There is a general resemblance to *Med.* 724 πειράσομαι σου προξενεῖν δίκαιος ὦν (quoted by Paley). Wecklein follows Kirchhoff in substituting καὶ for μὴ, thus making θανεῖν depend on πρόθυμος.

579. ὦραν γάμου forms a single idea, and the article is not required: cf. 562 n.

580. κατθανουμένην agrees with ὦραν but follows the sense rather than the expression, as if ἐμαντήν ὠραίαν γάμου οὔσαν preceded. The abstract is preferred to the concrete, as *e.g.* in *Soph. Ant.* 533 τρέφων δὲ ἅτα κάπαναστάσεις θρόνων.

581. ὀμιλία: company. For the periphrasis (=οἱ ὀμιλοῦντες) cf. *Alc.* 606 ἀνδρῶν Φεραίων εὐμενῆς παρουσία.

582, 3. ὅσων πάροιθεν: for the enjoyment of which (cf. 536).

583. καρδία σφαγήσεται: my blood will be shed. καρδία is here equivalent to the vital principle, as in *Hec.* 1025 ἀλιμενὸν τις ὡς εἰς ἄντλον πεσῶν λέχριος ἐκπεσῆ φίλας καρδίας. *Hipp.* 841 πῶθεν θανάσιμος τύχα, γύναι, σάν, τάλαιν', ἔβα καρδίαν; Badham conjectured σφαλήσεται, but no change seems necessary.

587. νόστος refers to the return of the Heraclidae to the Peloponnese, which was not accomplished until after the lapse of

several generations. Temenus, who eventually recovered Argos from Tisamenus the son of Orestes, was great-grandson of Hyllus (Apollod. *bibl.* 11 8. 1—3). Eur. wrote a play called by his name.

**ἐκ θεῶν.** The use of *ἐκ* to express the agent is one of the idioms which are common to the trag. and Herodotus. It is characteristic of the Ionic dialect, and hardly occurs at all in Attic prose. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 63 ἀρχόμεσθ' ἐκ κρείσσονων, where Jebb distinguishes it from *ὑπὸ* as expressing the head and fount of authority.

§88. **ὡς θάψαι χρεῶν**, *i.e.* in Argos. This is illustrated by Pausan. 1 41. 1, describing the dispute which arose among the Heraclids, as to whether Alcmena should be buried at Thebes or at Argos. Macaria, as a daughter of Deianira, belongs to the Argive branch.

**ὡς** : *ἥτοι*—rarely so used in indirect questions for *ὅπως* : cf. Dem. 24. 146 ὡς δὲ σαφῶς γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ.

§89. **δίκαιον** : *scil.* θάψαι.

**οὐ γάρ** κ.τ.λ. 'For I was not wanting as your helper.' *ἐνδεής* is adverbial.

§91. **τάδε** is the memory of her renunciation. Cf. *I. A.* 1398 ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ παῖδες οὔτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ' ἐμή, *Or.* 1050 τάδ' ἀντὶ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου λέχους προσφθέγματος ἀμφοῖν τοῖς τάλαιπύροις πάρα. These parallels emphasise the difficulty of coordinating *παρθενείας* with *παίδων*, where *γάμων* might have been expected. I do not see how the mss. reading can be explained, without doing violence to *ἀντὶ*, and have ventured to substitute *τῆς* for *καὶ*, which gives a simple sense. Cf. *C. I. A.* 469 σῆμα Φρασικλείας· κούρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεί, | ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.

§93. Elsewhere the sentiment is definitely expressed that death is nought. *Alc.* 381 οὐδέν ἐσθ' ὁ κατθανών, *Tro.* 633, *I. A.* 1251 τὰ νέρθε δ' οὐδέν, fr. 536 κατθανών δὲ πᾶς ἀνὴρ γῆ καὶ σκιά· τὸ μηδὲν εἰς οὐδέν ῥέπει.—**γε μέντοι** : 267.

§94. **κάκει** : in Hades. Cf. *Med.* 1073 εὐδαιμονοῖτον ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ· τὰ δ' ἐνθάδε πατὴρ ἀφείλετ'.

§95. **τις**, like the Germ. *man* and our *one*, takes the place of a personal pronoun. The usage is especially colloquial : *Cycl.* 309 ποῖ τρέψεται τις ; *Ar. Plut.* 374 ποῖ τις ἂν τράποιτο ; *Thesm.* 603. Cf. 866.

§95 f. For the sentiment cf. fr. 830 οἱ δ' ὀλωλότες οὐδέν

νοσοῦσιν οὐδὲ κέκτηνται κακά, *Or.* 1522 φοβῆ τὸν Ἄϊδην, ὅς σ' ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν;

597. **μέγιστον**: adverbial acc., a development of the cognate: cf. 792, *Med.* 1323 ᾧ μέγιστον ἐχθίστη γύναι.

599. **ὑφ' ἡμῶν** is governed by τιμιωτάτη ἔση: cf. *Thuc.* 1 130 ᾧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.—**πολύ** qualifies the superlative, as e.g. in *Hom. Il.* 1 581 ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατός ἐστιν.

600. **γάρ** gives the reason why in Macaria's presence, now consecrated, he will utter no words of ill-omen. At 602 Macaria has left the stage.—**θεάν**: the acc. (for which cf. *Hec.* 181 τί με δυσφημεῖς;) follows the analogy of other verbs of *addressing*: Kühner-Gerth § 409, 2 a 3.

601. **κατήρκαται**: 528 n. Note that the passive corresponds to *κατάρχομαι*, a middle verb governing a genitive case: so *El.* 1142 *κανοῦν δ' ἐνήρκαται*.

604. **αὐτοῦ**: here—on the spot. Iolaus does not leave the stage (cf. 344, 632). His cloak is to be wrapped over his head as a sign of grief: so *Suppl.* 110 σὲ τὸν κατήρη χλανιδίους ἀνιστορῶ, 286 *μητρ*, τί κλαίεις λέπτ' ἐπ' ὀμμάτων φάρη βαλοῦσα τῶν σῶν; *Ion* 967, *Soph. Ai.* 245, *Aesch. Cho.* 80.

605. **οὔτε...τε**: 454.

**πεπραγμένοις**. Elmsley says 'de re futura loquitur tanquam de praeterita,' but the words do not imply that the sacrifice is completed: they only refer to Macaria's self-devotion.

607. **συμφορὰ** in the strong subjective sense of *grief*: Verrall on *Med.* 54. Note the contrast with the still stronger ἄτη—*ruin, destruction*.

608 f. The sentiment is taken from *Theognis* 165 f. οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ' ἀγαθός. For the metres of this chorus see Appendix C.

**θεῶν ἄτερ**: *without the will of heaven*. *Bacch.* 764 οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινός, *Hor. Od.* 3. 4. 20 *non sine dis animosus infans*.

609. **ἄνδρα**: here in the sense of *mortal*: *Hel.* 490 (n.). Plato, so using it in *rep.* 565 E, approaches the style of poetry.

610. **ἔμβεβάναι**. Elsewhere, when *βεβάναι* is used in this sense (= *to be planted, established*), it is accompanied by the dat. with **ἐν**. So *Soph. El.* 1056 *ἔταν γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς ἤδη βεβήκης*, 1093 *μοῖρα οὐκ ἐν ἐσθλᾷ βεβῶσαν*, *O. C.* 1358 *ὅτ' ἐν πόνῳ ταυτῷ βεβηκῶς τυγχάνεις*



κακῶν ἰμοί, Eur. fr. 196 ἐν ὄλβῳ μὴ σαφεῖ βεβηκότες, fr. 1058 ὀρθαῖς ἐν τύχαις βεβηκότα, inf. 910. The use of the simple dat. cannot be paralleled, and for this reason I have introduced 'μβεβάναι. For the prodelision cf. Soph. *O. C.* 400. For the confusion of metaphor (whence Busche proposed ποτ' ἐν for δόμον, and Schmidt δρόμον ἐτυχ(ας) see on 486.

611. **παρὰ...ἄλλαν**: *after another, i.e. outstripping it.* Cf. *Alc.* 926 παρ' εὐτυχῆ σοι πότμον ἦλθεν ἀπειροκάκῳ τῶδ' ἄλγος. Observe that παρ' ἡμέραν sometimes means 'on alternate days': Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 63.

612. **διώκει**: *scil. δόμον.* The verb need not be regarded as intransitive. The instability of fortune is one of Eur.'s favourite commonplaces. Cf. *Hel.* 711 ff. and see Douglas Thomson, *Euripides and the Attic Orators*, p. 62 f., who collects many illustrations.

613. **ῥῆκισε** should not be altered to ἔκτισε, with Cobet. It completes the metaphor of the low cabin contrasted with the lofty hall. Cf. fr. 424 μί' ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὰ δ' ἦρ' ἄνω, Stob. *flor.* 105. 61 Αἴσωπος ἐρωτηθεὶς...τί οἱ θεοὶ πράττουσιν, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομοῦσιν, ἔφη, τὰ δὲ πάλιν καταβάλλουσιν, *Tro.* 612, Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 89, Luc. *evang.* 1. 52, Hor. *Od.* 1. 34. 12 *ualet ima summis mutare et insignem attenuat deus, obscura promens.* For the tense see Goodw. § 155. ὑψηλῶν is therefore neuter: *from his height.*

614. **ἀλήταν** is condemned by metre, but has not been convincingly emended. Of the many guesses Lobeck's ἀτίταν is perhaps least open to objection. Murray suggests ἀλέταν, with a reference to the common form of slave-punishment (*Cycl.* 240).

615. **θέμις**. Wecklein well compares Hor. *od.* 1. 24. 20 *quicquid corrigere est nefas.*

616. **πρόθυμος**: *scil. ἀπόσασθαι.* **ἀεὶ**: to be joined with πρόθυμος (863 n.). Cf. *H. F.* 309 τὰς τῶν θεῶν γὰρ ὅστις ἐκμοχθεῖ τύχας, πρόθυμός ἐστιν, ἢ προθυμία δ' ἄφρων.

618. **προπεσῶν**: *fainting.* This sense of προπίπτειν is vouched by the use of προπετής in Soph. *Trach.* 976. See cr. n.

**τὰ θεῶν**: the dispensation of the gods: *Hel.* 1140 ὅς τὰ θεῶν ἐσορᾷ δεῦρο καὶ αὐθις ἐκεῖσε πηδῶντ', *Phoen.* 382 δεῖ φέρειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν.

620. **φροντίδα** = φρένα. So *Med.* 48 νέα γὰρ φροντίς οὐκ ἀλγεῖν φιλεῖ.

621. **θανάτου μέρος**: *death-portion*, a genitive of definition, like *θανάτου τελευτά Med.* 153.

622. **τ'** suffers trajection since it belongs logically to *ἀδελφῶν*: cf. Soph. *El.* 250 *ἔρροι τ' ἄν αἰδῶς ἀπάντων τ' εὐσέβεια θνατῶν*. Examples like the present are common in prose: cf. e.g. Thuc. iv 8 *ἀνευ τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου* (Elmsley). See also nr. on *Hel.* 587, 769.

623. **ἀκλεῆς...δόξα**. The latter word does not by itself signify good fame; hence the distinction of the grammarian Herennius Philo (Ammonius) *δόξα παρὰ πολλοῖς, κλέος παρὰ σπουδαίοις* (Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 292).

625 is an echo of Hesiod's well-known line: *Op.* 289 *τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάραιθεν ἔθηκαν*. Cf. *I. T.* 114 *τοὺς πόνους γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ τολμῶσι, δειλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ*. The metaphor in **βαίνει διὰ μόχθων** is well-worn, so that it can even be applied in such an expression as *Andr.* 416 *διὰ φιλημάτων ἰών*.

626. **ἄξια μὲν...ἄξια δ'**. See on 491.

629. **μετέχω σοι**, in the sense of 'I share your feelings,' without any defining genitive, is very unusual Greek.

For the lacuna after this verse see *Intro.* p. xxxiv.

632. **οἶα...παρουσία**. Here **γ'** belongs to the whole clause—'at least so far as my presence avails.' *δή* qualifies *οἶα*, but in *Suppl.* 162 *ὃ δὴ γε πολλοὺς ὤλεσε στρατηλάτας* it is probable that *δή* should be taken with *πολλοὺς*. The antecedent to *οἶα* is the quality of the verbal action expressed by *πάρεσμεν*: cf. *Tro.* 1143 *πέπλοισιν ὡς περιστείλης νεκρὸν στεφάνοις θ', ὄση σοι δύναμις*. The idiom is more familiar in Latin: Roby § 1715.

634. **οἰκέος**, fem.: 901 n. Tr.:—'a family sorrow.' Iolaus is made to cut short the curiosity of the messenger, so as to avoid telling the spectators what they already know.

**συνειχόμεν**: see cr. n. Some scholars hold that the Homeric passive form *ἐσχόμεν* survived here and there in Attic. Thus there is a division of opinion as to the correct reading in *Hipp.* 27 *καρδίαν κατέσχετο* (*κατείχετο* Musgr.) *ἔρωτι*. Certainly *κατασχομένῳ* seems well established in Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 E. But there is no such evidence for *συνεσχόμεν*, and it is perhaps safer to follow Elmsley here.

635. **σεαυτόν**. The open form of the reflexive is very rare in Euripides (Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 970).

637. **γε μέντοι** : 267 n.

639. **πενέστης**. This is the name of the Thessalian serf class, which corresponded to the Spartan helots. Intermediate between them and the aristocracy was a subject class—representing originally the conquered people incorporated in the community by the Dorian invaders—parallel to the Spartan *περίοικοι* (Plat. *rep.* 547 c). See Whibley's *Greek Oligarchies* § 50. There was no such class at Athens, and the name appears appropriately in conjunction with Hyllus, the ancestor of the Dorian nobility. Cf. fr. 827 *λάτρης πενέστης ἀμὸς ἀρχαίων δόμων*.

640. **ὦ φίλταθ'** is addressed to Hyllus.

**ἀρα**, generally equivalent to *num* as here, appears occasionally (rarely in prose: Plat. *Prot.* 358 c) after one or more words. The effect of this order is to emphasise *ἤκεις*: 'hast thou come indeed?' Elmsley prefers to punctuate after *ἤκεις*, but this would be very displeasing. See also Ar. *Vesp.* 234 (Starkie).

Porson treated this line as containing a violation of the cretic rule and substituted *νῶν σωτήρ* for *σωτήρ νῶν*. But the metre is really unobjectionable on Porson's own principle, since, although *νῶν* is not an enclitic, it belongs at least as much to *σωτήρ* as to *βλάβης*, and is not therefore 'quaevis denique vox quae ad sequentia potius quam praecedentia pertineat.' Cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1543 *ὥσπερ σφῶ πατρί*, 1022 *οὐδὲν δεῖ πονεῖν*; Eur. *H.F.* 1338.

641. **καὶ πρὸς γ'**. *γ'* stresses the adv.: cf. *Hel.* 110 (n.). 'And, what is more, your happiness is at this very moment assured'—not merely, as Iolaus' words suggest, is there a chance of deliverance. *τάδε* limits *τὰ νῦν* (*nunc maxime*). Cf. Herod. VII 104 *ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τανῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους*, Eur. *I.A.* 537 *ὡς ἠπόρημαι πρὸς θεῶν τὰ νῦν τάδε*, *H.F.* 246.

643. **τοῦδε**, if not absolutely necessary, is a great improvement.

644. **πάλαι γὰρ** κ.τ.λ.: you were wasting in anxiety as to the return of those who have now appeared. Grammatically *τῶν ἀφ.* might stand alone as causal gen. with *ὠδίνουσα*, but cannot actually be separated from the subordinate clause *ν. εἰ γ.*, which expresses the proper object of Alcmena's anxiety. Thus the gen. often prepares the way for the subordinate clause: Thuc. I 68 *τῶν λεγόντων ὑπενοεῖτε ὡς ἔνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων λέγουσιν*, IV 11 *φιλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν*, Isocr. 4. 156 *τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηράσαντ' εἰ τινας κινήσειαν*. *εἰ* introduces an indirect

question after *ὠδίνουσα*, as in Soph. *Ai.* 794 ὥστε μ' ὠδίνειν τί φής. **νόστος** is the return of Hyllus and his brothers to the rest of the party after the separation mentioned in 45 f., not simply = *adventus*, as Elmsley.

648. **ἀσθενής... ῥώμη**: 'my strength is but weakness.' The same contrast (oxymoron) appears in *Or.* 68 ὡς τά γ' ἄλλ' ἐπ' ἀσθενούς ῥώμης ὀχούμεθ'.

651. **ἦ τάρρα** (= *τοι ἄρα*), a very strong asseveration, occurs seven times in Eur. (Elmsley). It is combined with the opt. also in *Hipp.* 1028 ἦ τάρ' ὀλοίμην ἀκλεῆς ἀνώνυμος κ.τ.λ.

652. **ἔτ'**: *any more*.

**εἰ** with fut. ind. is here minatory: Goodw. § 447.

653. **οὐ καλῶς**, 'dishonourably' (meiosis).

654. **μὴ τρέσῃς** is not 'cease trembling,' which would require the present imperative, but simply 'fear not': see *Class. Rev.* XVIII p. 262.

656. **γάρ** in questions expresses surprise: *Hel.* 576 n.

**βοῆν ἔστησας**: see on 73. The metaphorical use of ἄγγελος is common: *Suppl.* 203 εἶτα δ' ἄγγελον γλώσσαν λόγων δούς.

657. **σέ** is governed by *βοῆν ἔστησας*. This is not uncommon in poetry in place of the usual dat. after verbs of addressing (cf. 600 n.): Soph. *El.* 556 εἰ δέ μ' ᾧδ' αἰεὶ λόγους ἐξήρχες, *O. C.* 1120 τέκν' εἰ φανέντ' ἄελπτα μηκύνω λόγον.

658. **οὐκ ἴσμεν**: 'I don't understand' (= *ἐγνων*): for *οἶδα* has no aorist. So Agave in *Bacch.* 1270 τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν τὸδ' ἔτι σῆ ψυχῆ πάρα; οὐκ οἶδα τοῦπος τοῦτο. Cf. *Suppl.* 109. Hermann's ἦσμεν, adopted by many subsequent editors, is mistaken.

**γάρ** here gives the reason for her perplexity: contrast 656.

659. **ἦκοντα**. For the participle taking the place of the usual infin. after a *verbum declarandi* see Goodw. § 910.

660. **καὶ σὺ**: the *epitatic* (Shilleto on *F. L.* § 30) use of *καὶ* has given some trouble. Thus Wecklein supposes a line to have been lost. An excellent example will be found in Plat. *rep.* 573 D τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, ἔφη, τοῦτο σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρεῖς, *i.e.* the man who is asked a riddle by one who knows the answer replies: 'you tell *me*.' See also *Hel.* 758, 1280, *Hipp.* 224. Here its employment is so foreign to our methods of speech, that it can hardly be rendered by a separate word without exaggeration or perversion. For the causal dative see on 474.

661. τί and ποῦ both belong to ἄπεστι. Cf. *Hel.* 1543 πῶς ἐκ τίνος νεῶς...θραύσαντες ἤκετε σκάφος;

662. συμφορά, 'hap,' in its neutral sense.

663. δεῦρο qualifies φανέντα regarded as a verb of motion. Wecklein suggests μολόντα, but cf. *Bacch.* 646, *H. F.* 705.

664. στρατός. All the edd. adopt στρατὸν: see cr. n. I have retained στρατός for the following reasons. καθίζω is intrans. in *Thuc.* III 107 (L. and S. require correction here), although it is true that στρατὸν καθίζειν (of the general) represents his normal usage. Then, τάσσεται, if middle—although in itself quite defensible: *Andr.* 1099, cf. supr. 397—is awkward with καθίζει, and not readily distinguishable from τάσσοντα (676).

665. δῆ is temporal and affects the whole clause: no longer ποιοι. For the sense, reflecting Athenian manners, cf. *H. F.* 535.

669. ἄλλον, since πολλοί cannot be described as ἀριθμός, means 'beyond this,' i.e. more exactly: cf. *Hel.* 37 n. The Academics distinguished πλῆθος from ἀριθμός as the principle of indeterminate plurality (*Plut. de def. or.* 37, p. 429 A).

671. καὶ δῆ: and ere this.

κέρας. This acc. ('he is posted on the wing') is a special development of the cognate: cf. *Suppl.* 657 δεξιὸν τεταγμένους κέρας, *Isocr.* 14. 61 τοὺς τάναντία παραταξαμένους. Similarly *Suppl.* 987 τί ποτ' ἀθελίαν ἔστηκε πέτραν, *Hel.* 1573.

672. γάρ: as in 656.

ὡς ἐς ἔργον. ἐς states the object aimed at and ὡς the intention of the agent—'with a view to the action.' Cf. *Soph. Ai.* 44 ἦ καὶ τὸ βούλευμ' ὡς ἐπ' Ἀργείοις τόδ' ἦν; *Thuc.* I 62 εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην.

673. The sacrifice before a battle belongs to the class known as piacular (honorific; and the shedding of the blood of the victim (σφάγιον, not ἱερεῖον)—normally an animal in substitution for the human victim of earlier times—is essential (cf. 820). The use of the victim by μάντις for purposes of divination is in conception entirely distinct from the yielding-up to a jealous power of the life which it exacts, but in practice the two acts were connected together. It was the function of the βασιλεύς to strike down the victim (*Or.* 1603).

ἐκάς should not be altered (πέλας Dindorf, πάρος Hartung). Murray quotes *Thuc.* VI 69, which shows that the victims were

brought forward, i.e. to the *μεταλχιμον*, immediately before the decisive conflict was initiated. This verse describes an earlier stage, when they are kept in readiness, but at a distance from the fighting line.

674. *πόσον τι*: *about* how far.

675. *ὥστ' ἔξορᾶσθαι*: near enough for the general to be seen from our lines. Cf. *Hel.* 1269 *ὥστ' ἔξορᾶσθαι ῥόθια χερσὸθεν μόλις*.

677. *οὐ γὰρ ἔξηκούομεν*: i.e. we did not hear the word of command. Wecklein suggests *ἐξικνούμεθα*, probably considering that inability to hear is not an adequate reason.

678. *τούμὸν μέρος*: adverbial acc., qualifying *ἐρήμοις*. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 1509 *πάντων ἐρήμοις πλὴν ὅσον τὸ σὸν μέρος*, *Isocr.* 19. 33 *τὸ ταύτης μέρος οὐ θεραπείας ἔτυχεν*.

680. *κᾶγωγε*: *scil. εἰμι*.

681. *ὡς ἔοιγμεν* is the personalised form of *ὡς ἔοικεν* in the sense of 'as it is fitting that we should.' Elsewhere the personal construction bears the meaning 'as it seems' (*Hel.* 793 n.), but *προσῆκω* is used similarly in *Aesch. Ag.* 1079 *τὸν θεὸν...οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν*. *φίλοις* is governed by *παρόντες*. Though *ὠφελεῖν* sometimes takes the dat., this is not necessarily an instance, for it is usual to accommodate the case of the object to the participle, where the main verb takes another case.

682. *ἦκιστα πρὸς σοῦ...ἦν*: 'it was not like you.' *ἦν* cannot be equated with *ἐστί*, but refers to Iolaus' expressed resolution in 680 as already past. For *πρὸς* (lit. proceeding from) cf. *H. F.* 585 *πρὸς σοῦ μὲν, ὦ παῖ, τοῖς φίλοις εἶναι φίλον τὰ τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν*, *Xen. Mem.* II 3. 15 *ἄτοπα λέγεις καὶ οὐδαμῶς πρὸς σοῦ*, *Hel.* 959.

683. *καὶ...γ'*: see on *Hel.* 110. Here *γ'* must be taken to emphasise *μὴ μετασχεῖν*.

684. Paley quotes *Aesch. Theb.* 384 f. *κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὐτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγώ, οἷδ' ἔλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα*. From this point onwards the comic tone of the scene is unmistakable: I have suggested a possible reason in the *Intro.* p. xvi.

685. *σθένοιμι*. The reading *θένοιμι* is generally accepted here (coll. 738), with *θένοις* in 686. Murray stands alone in emphatically dissenting. If the mss. reading is to be maintained, we must supply *δρᾶν* from 684, and understand *δι' ἀσπίδος* as = *in battle*. For this meaning cf. 819, *Smyrl.* 902 *ἐν ἀσπίδι δεινὸς σοφιστής*, *Phoen.* 1326 *ἦκουσε τέκνα μονομάχῳ μέλλειν δορὶ εἰς ἀσπίδ' ἤξειν* (where the Schol. explains *εἰς μάχην*). There is a reason in favour of the mss.

reading which has not been noticed. With *θένοις* in 686, *πρόσθεν* is illogical, since we must supply *τοῦ θενεῖν*. But, if *σθένοις* is retained, we supply *τοῦ δρᾶν* with *πρόσθεν*, and the sense results:—‘you might have the strength, but before dealing a blow would yourself be overthrown.’

Wecklein gives the following order:—683, 688—690, 685—687, 684, 691. The principal advantage gained is the supposed improvement in the position of 684; but the reasons for adopting such a drastic change are very far from convincing.

688. ὦ τᾶν: 321.

689. μαχοῦνται. Madvig’s emendation saves 690 from pointlessness, and fits 688: *i.e.* ‘though my strength be small, I shall not diminish the numbers of the fighting line.’ He apologises for his weakness. With *μαχοῦμαι* the sense is: ‘I shall fight against no fewer than in former times.’

ἀλλ’ οὖν... γ’: ‘well, at any rate,’ with some emphasis thrown on *μαχοῦνται*. Cf. Soph. *El.* 233 ἀλλ’ οὖν εὐνοία γ’ αὐδῶ, after the consolations of the speaker have been rejected.

690. σήκωμα. ‘The addition of your weight to the scale in your friends’ favour is but slight.’ Cobet reintroduced here and elsewhere the form *προστιθεῖς*, condemned by most scholars in Attic Greek since the time of Porson (on *Or.* 141).

693. ὡς μὴ μενοῦντα. For the acc. absolute cf. Soph. *O. T.* 101 ὡς τὸδ’ αἶμα χείμαζον πόλιν, *Ion* 964. ὡς expresses ‘with the assurance that I shall not stop.’—On the ground that οὐ rather than μὴ accompanies the participle when combined with ὡς, Kirchhoff altered μὴ to μ’ οὐ. But the rule is not absolute (cf. [Dem.] 26. 21 τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὡς πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ, πάλιν ἐκολάσατε), and here σοι λέγειν πάρα is equivalent to an imperative, which generally demands μὴ (Jebb on *O. C.* 1154). Exactly parallel is Thuc. I 120 χρῆ... τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοῦς κριτὰς ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων εἶναι.

694. ὀπλίτης (see cr. n.) gives an improved sense, and it should be noted that the dat. ὀπλίταις, if genuine, is less suitable than the acc. with a prep. would have been in this context. Contrast *El.* 105 ἢ γάρ τις ἀροτῆρ ἢ τις οἰκέτις γυνὴ φανήσεται νῶν with *Phoen.* 1747 πρὸς ἡλικας φάνηθι σάς.

697. ζῶντες is conditional, ‘if I live.’

θεός: *i.e.* Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος (70).

698. **κἀπό πασσάλων.** The custom of hanging up the armour taken in battle in the temples of the victors' gods is sufficiently familiar (*Αιδρ.* 1122 *κρεμαστὰ τεύχη πασσάλων καθαρπάσας*, *Tro.* 575). Pausanias (1 15. 4) saw in the Stoa Poecile at Athens certain shields said to be those taken from the Spartans at Sphacteria.

699. **ὄπλιτην**, used here as an adj.: cf. 753. Especially those nouns which express occupation, rank or age are so employed: *Ion* 1373 *οἰκέτην βίον*, *H. F.* 1095 *νεανίαν θώρακα*.

701. **τοὺς μὲν μάχεσθαι** is logically subordinate, since *αἰσχρ. οἰκ.* is defined by *τοὺς δὲ δειλία μένειν*. 'It is a shameful home-keeping for some to hold back through cowardice, while others are fighting.' Cf. *I. T.* 116 *οὔτοι μακρὸν μὲν ἤλθομεν κώπη πόρον, ἐκ τερμάτων δὲ νόστον ἀρούμεν πάλιν*. The idiom is very common in the orators: see e.g. *Dem.* 18. 160.

**δειλία**, causal dat.: 130.

706. **γνωσιμαχεῖν**, 'to change one's mind,' occurs in Attic prose: *Isocr.* 5. 7 *ἤλπισαν ὑμᾶς γνωσιμαχήσαντας βουλευέσσεσθαι τι κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*. In the main however it is an Ionic word (Herodotus). There is no warrant for Wecklein's translation, *consilio (non manu) certare*.

**τὴν ἡλικίαν**, abstract for concrete as in 580. *ἡλικία*, like our 'age,' varies in meaning according to the context, but, whereas 'age' unqualified tends to be limited to *old age*, *ἡλικία* generally expresses *youthful manhood*. See however *Plat. Lach.* 180 D *οὔτοι τι...οἱ ἡλικοί ἐγὼ ἔτι γιγνώσκομεν τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας*. Since the reference to Iolaus is clearly indicated, it does not appear necessary to alter *τὴν* to *τὴνδ'* (Bothe) or *σὴν* (Porson).

708. **πάλιν αὖθις**: 487.

709. **τί χρῆμα**: *τῆς* (633, 646)? Strictly an adv. acc. developed from the cognate: so *μάτην*, *δίκτην* etc.

**σῶν φρενῶν οὐκ ἔνδον**: *out of your wits*. Cf. *Aesch. Cho.* 232 *ἔνδον γενοῦ, χαρᾶ δὲ μὴ κπλαγῆς φρένας*, *Hērph.* 1012 *οὐδαμοῦ φρενῶν*, *Bacch.* 853 *ἔξω δ' ἐλαύνων τοῦ φρονεῖν*. For a phrase of similar import see *Ar. Vesp.* 642 *κᾶστιν οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῦ* (Starkie's n.).

710. Something like Vitelli's supplement seems to me essential: see 41 etc.—For *σὺν* and its case qualifying the object see 249.—**λιπεῖν**: the aor. inf. after *μέλλω* is well established in Euripides: see on *Hel.* 1046.

711. **ἀλκή**: *battle*. For exx. see on *Hel.* 42 and cf. *Pind. Ol.*



13. 55 τὰ δὲ καὶ ποτ' ἐν ἀλκῇ πρὸ Δαρδάνου τειχέων. The thought is an echo of Hom. *Il.* vi 490 ff. ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε... πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει.

714. **χρήσονται τύχη** is a euphemism, like our *meet with an accident*. In prose the phrase sometimes means little more than *by accident*: Andoc. 4. 120 ἡ παῖς τύχη χρησαμένη καμουσα ἀπέθανεν, Xen. *de venat.* 5. 29 (hares owing to their speed are not often overtaken by dogs) ὅσοι δὲ ἀλίσκονται, παρὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, τύχη δὲ χρώμενοι. Cf. *fortuna uti*. A stronger expression is *συμφορᾶ χρησθαι* (Eur. *Med.* 347, Isae. 7. 8).

716. **γάρ**: *indeed*—in assent. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 756 δεινὸν γε τοῦτίσαγμα τῆς νόσου.—δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ τλητόν. It is doubtful whether this use of **γάρ** is due to an ellipse, or is to be assigned to its original meaning as derived from *γε ἄρα*.

718. **κακῶς ἀκούειν**, as the passive of *κακῶς λέγειν*, generally takes *ἐπὶ* and sometimes *πρός* c. gen. For *ἐκ* cf. Theocr. 29. 21 αἱ γὰρ ὦδε πόης, ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἀκούσεται ἐξ ἀστῶν.

719. **ὅσιος**: true to a sacred obligation. It expresses the reciprocal relations existing between gods and men, whereas *δίκαιος* strictly refers to the duties of human society. Cf. *Alc.* 10 ὀσίου γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ὅσιος ὦν ἐτύγχανον. Here Zeus is reminded of his divine promise to protect Heracles, his own and Alcmena's son. In the sequel she is made to recognise his loyalty: 869 ff.

721. **φθάνοις δ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν**: *you could not be too soon*: see Goodw. § 894. Elmsley points out that the *present* participle is regularly employed in this idiom: cf. *Alc.* 662 τοιγὰρ φυτεύων παῖδας οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοις. For double *ἂν* see 415.

**συγκρύπτων**. Dobree maintained that *συγκρύπτω* was always used of *hiding*, or, at any rate, if applied to the covering of the body, of *wrapping up*. He therefore substituted *σὸν κρύπτων*, and has been followed by most subsequent editors. But, if we grant the premises, it does not seem an unsuitable word for the attendant to have used ironically.

722. **Ἄρης στυγεῖ μέλλοντας** is illustrated by the proverb ἀγῶν πρόφασιν οὐκ ἀναμένει. This is twice quoted by Plato: *legg.* vi 751 D ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀγῶνα προφάσεις φασὶν οὐ πᾶν δέχεσθαι and *Cratyl.* 421 D. Cf. Aesch. fr. 39 ἀγῶν γὰρ ἄνδρας οὐ μένει λελειμμένους. Macarius 1 16 quotes the line ἀγῶν γὰρ οὐ μέλλοντος ἀθλητοῦ μένει ἀλκῆν. So Ar. *Ach.* 392 ὡς σκῆψιν ἀγῶν οὗτος οὐκ εἰσδέξεται.

723 ff. The process of putting on the armour could not conveniently be enacted on the stage.

727. It seems that the attendant, while supporting Iolaus with his right hand, is to carry the armour in his left. Iolaus grasps the spear with his right hand.

729. ἦ...γάρ—'do you really mean that...?'—marks surprise real or affected (*Hel.* 784 n.). Where a word is interposed as here, the matter which excites wonder is stressed: *Soph. El.* 1221 ἦ ζῆ γὰρ ἀνὴρ; For the situation cf. *Bacch.* 193 γέρον γέροντα παιδαγωγῆσώ σ' ἐγώ.

730. ὄρνιθος εἶνεκ': for the omen's sake. For the word cf. *Hel.* 1051 n. To stumble at the beginning of a journey was inauspicious. Cf. *Tibull.* 1 3. 19 o quotiens ingressus iter mihi tristia dixi offensum in porta signa dedisse pedem.

732. ἔπειγε: intransitive. Except in the imperative, Attic writers always used ἐπείγεσθαι (734). Thus we have a parallel case to παύω (*Hel.* 1319). L. and S. are misleading.

733. δοκῶν τι δρᾶν: 'fancying that thou art making thy way.' Murray has οὐκ ἐγὼ δοκῶ, presumably with the sense 'I don't think that I am hindering you.'

734 is better treated as interrogative. Cf. *El.* 239 οὐκ οὐν ὄρα μου πρῶτον ὡς ξηρὸν δέμας; *Lening* compares *Ter. Eun.* 912 *monue te oro ocius, mea nutrix.—moveo.—video sed nil promoves.*

735. δοκοῦντα: *scil.* σπεύδειν. Nauck proposed *πονοῦντα*, but no change is necessary.

738. τινά=many a one. So often in Homer: there is a good instance in *Thuc.* VII 61 ἦν γὰρ κρατήσωμεν...ἔστι τῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν που οἰκέαν πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν.

739. δὴ qualifies the whole clause. Cf. *El.* 263 εἰ δὴ ποθ' ἤξει γ' ἐς δόμους ὁ νῦν ἀπών. Distinguish the cases where it coalesces with ποτε following (*Hel.* 855).

τοῦτο is nominative and φόβος predicate. Cf. *Trö.* 240 εἰ τόδ' ἦν ὑμῖν φόβος, 983 ταῦτα γὰρ γέλωσ πολύς, *Dem.* 1. 3 ὡς ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο δέος, 19. 72 ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα γέλωσ.

740 is a reminiscence of the familiar Homeric line: *Il.* VII 157 etc. εἶθ' ὡς ἠβῶοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἶη. Observe the tense of ἠβήσαντα (172).

741. ἦνίκα κ.τ.λ. Heracles undertook the expedition against Sparta to avenge upon Hippocoon and his sons the death of his

cousin Oeonus, the son of Licymnius (Pausan. III 15. 3, Apollod. II 7. 3, Plut. *qu. Rom.* 90 p. 285 f). None of these authorities mention Iolaus, but his presence is implied in the account of Diodorus (IV 33).

743. It is impossible to keep *αἶος* here (see cr. n.), and the alternative to *αἶος* is Reiske's *οἶαν*, which is accepted by Murray.

744. **θείμην.** Cobet, *N.L.* p. 261, points out that *τροπήν τιθεσθαι* (= *to defeat*) is the Ionic and Tragic equivalent of the Attic *τροπήν ποιεῖσθαι*. The occasional appearance of *τροπήν ποιεῖν* (Thuc. VI 69), in the sense of 'to cause a flight,' does not justify the retention of *θείμην* here. Contrast *ταφὰς θεῖναι* (*Hel.* 1063) of the actual performer of the rites with *ταφὰς ποιεῖσθαι* of those joining in the celebration (Thuc. II 34).

**ἐπέε τοι καί :** 507.

745. **καὶ τόδ' :** Wecklein puts a comma after *ὄλβω*, but it is simpler to regard *δόκησις* as expegetic of *τόδε*, just as *τοῦτο* precedes *γνώμην δικαίαν κάγαθὴν* in *Ηίρρ.* 426. *καί* is *epitatic*, marking *τόδε* as being in *correspondence* with *ὄλβος*. So Thuc. V 8 *ὁ δὲ Βρασιδᾶς, ὡς εἶδε κινουμένους... καταβάς καὶ αὐτός*. See also on 660.

746. **οἰόμεσθα γὰρ** κ.τ.λ. We have here an inversion of the subsequently famous Stoic paradox. Wecklein well compares Hor. *Sat.* II 3. 95 *virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille clarus erit, fortis, iustus*. Note that the words *ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς* seem to imply a recognition of the Socratic doctrine that virtue in general, as well as courage in particular, is based upon the knowledge of good and evil. Murray's conjecture *ἐπικτᾶσθαι καλά* is thus unnecessary.

748 ff. It should be observed how appropriate the language of this chorus is to the actual circumstances of the Peloponnesian invasion (Introd. p. xxxi). We can hardly fail to identify the *ικέται* of v. 757 with the Corcyreans. For the metres see Appendix C.

**γὰ** κ.τ.λ. The invocation of the powers of nature is a means of letting loose the emotions.

**παννύχιος σελάνα.** It is worth observing that the full moon (*μηνὸς διχήρης*, *Ion* II 55) coincided with the close of the Great Dionysia, which began about the 10th Elaphebolion and lasted at least five days.

749. **θεοῦ** = *ἡλίου*. Cf. *Suppl.* 208 *αἶθρον ἐξαμύνασθαι θεοῦ*, *Med* 352 *εἴ σ' ἡ' πιούσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ*, *Ion* I 440.

750. **φαεσίμβροτοι** is an Homeric epithet found in *Od.* x 138 *ἄμφω δ' ἐκγεγάτην φαεσιμβρότου Ἥελλοιο.*

752. **ιαχήσατε**: the second syllable is long except in the aorist *ἰαχον* (Elmsley). The verb is reduplicated (= *ἱφαχω*) from the stem of *ἦχη*. The spelling *ιακχ-*, due to Porson, is now generally given up.

**οὐρανῶ** is a locative dat. implying motion to, as is shown by the next line. Cf. *Il.* iv 443 *οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη*, *Or.* 1433 *νῆμα θ' ἔτεο πῆδω*, *Hel.* 1271 n. Observe that the idea of *ἀγγελία* is not to be carried on to this line: the cry is for help in the crisis.

753. **θρόνον ἀρχέταν**. The older edd. give no assistance towards the explanation of these words. It is only possible to conjecture that they have some archaeological significance in relation to the worship of Athena Πολιοῦχος. Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xiv p. 181) explains 'solium Erecthei in fano Poliadis,' but gives no evidence in support of his view. For *ἀρχέτας* used adjectivally cf. 699 n.

754. **γλαυκάς**: blue-eyed. See Pausan. i 14. 6.

**ἐν Ἀθήνας**: *scil.* *ἱερῶ*. The Erechtheum is meant, for this building was known as the temple of Athena Polias. It was so called because its eastern chamber was the shrine of the ancient wooden image to which this title belonged. This image cannot be referred to in 753, as it represented the goddess in a standing position (Frazer's *Pausanias* II p. 341: contrast Pausan. i 26. 4).

756. **καὶ ὑπέρ**. The preposition belongs (*ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*) to *γᾶς* as well as to *δόμων*, although formally attached to the latter only. Cf. Soph. *O.T.* 761 *ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι κατὰ ποιμνίων νομάς*. Copious illustrations of the wide extension of this principle are given by Wilamowitz on *H.F.* 237.

757. **ὑποδεχθεῖς** in place of *ὑποδεξάμενος* is quite isolated. Cf. *μεληθεῖς* in Soph. *Ai.* 1184, and the occasional appearance of *ἐμέμφθην* for *ἐμεμψάμην*. So in Homer *αἰδέσθην* beside *αἰδεσάμην*, *ἐχολώθην* beside *ἐχολωσάμην*: for a suggested explanation see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.* § 150.

758. **κίνδυνον...τεμείν** is probably to be explained on the analogy of *ὀδόν* or *κῆλευθον* *τέμνειν*, and means 'to enter upon a dangerous course.' In Pind. *Ol.* 13. 57 *μαχᾶν τέμνειν τέλος* it is *τέλος* which requires the meaning *decide*. The Latin *secare litem* has been compared, but there is nothing to show that its development is the same.

πολιῶ, 'gray,' is an epithet of σίδηρος in *Il.* IX 365. It should not be rendered 'gleaming.'

759. **Μυκήνας**: the acc. is attracted to πόλιω. Cf. *Thuc.* VI 68 ἄνδρας πανδημεί τε ἀμυνομένους καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέκτους ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς. There are similar cases of attraction after ἦ, οἶος (*Thuc.* VII 21), εἰ (*Soph. O.C.* 733 πόλιω σθένουσαν, εἴ τιν' Ἑλλάδος, μέγα) etc.

762. **κεύθειν**: 'to cherish' (*sovere*). So 879, *Suppl.* 295 μῦθος ὄν κεύθω, *Hipp.* 1105 σύνεσιν δέ τιν' ἐλπιδι κεύθων.

763. **εἰ...παραδώσομεν**: *if we are going to surrender.* See on 197.

766. Barnes well quotes *Psalms* 27. 1 *The Lord is my life and my salvation; whom shall I fear?*

767. **χάριν...ἔχει** = *regards with favour.* The flexibility of this phrase must be borne in mind. Thus in *Hec.* 830 χάριν ἔχειν is used of the recipient of a boon. Here χάρις coming from the gods should not be conceived as a recompense for favours received. It is at most a reward conferred upon a worthy object. Cf. *fr.* 449 ἦλθε γὰρ ἦ πρόσθ' ἦ μετόπισθεν τῆς εὐσεβίας χάρις ἐσθλή.

769. **ἐκ** introducing the agent: see on 587. Headlam's restoration (*Cl. Rev.* XV 104) of this line should be mentioned: ἦσσους οὐράνιοι 'π' ἐμοῦ (*in my time*) φανοῦνται.

770. ᾧ **πότνια** is addressed to Pallas Athena. If πολύθυτος is retained in 777, there is a syllable too much in 770, 771. There is not much probability in the suggested variants for πολύθυτος, such as πολύθυινος (Hermann), πολύθεστος (Bergk), or πολύλιστος (Wecklein). Dindorf's πολύθυστος rests on the analogy of ἄθυστος. Murray brackets γᾶς, but I should prefer to dispense with σόν, which stands awkwardly in place of σή and is quite superfluous. Indeed, it has been held that σόν is merely an emphatic repetition, and that there is no pause after γᾶς.

774. **δορυσοῦν** = 'spear-hurling,' not 'spear-brandishing' (Jebb on *Soph. O.C.* 1313). The root is that of σεύω (qieῦ-: Brugmann *Grundr.* I § 489), and the medial σσ is illustrated by the Epic lengthening of the preceding short vowel, as in *Il.* XXIII 198 ὕλη τε σεύαιτο καήμεναι.

775. **ἀρετᾶ**: causal dative. 'It is not meet that I, for all my piety, should be driven from my home.' Thus, ἀρετᾶ is expanded in the antistrophe, for Athenian εὐσέβεια was famous (901 ff.).

776. **δίκαιος**: 142, 480.

777—783. The last antistrophe of this Chorus succinctly describes some of the ritual observances of the Great Panathenaea. The details are examined in the Appendix. There is a general similarity in *Tro.* 1071 ff.

777. **πολύθυτος...τιμὰ**: the offering of a hecatomb on the Acropolis, which was the climax of the festival, is alluded to. See the Scholl. on Ar. *Nub.* 385.

778. **οὐδὲ λάθει κ.τ.λ.** 'Nor is the waning day forgotten as the months roll by.' For the probable significance of this obscure expression see Appendix.

780. **νέων τ' αἰοιδάλ.** The edd. generally supply *κράινονται*, making *οὐδὲ...ἀμέρα* parenthetic, but there seems no reason why *οὐ λάθουσι* should not extend to this clause. Cf. Hom. *hymn. Cer.* 95 *οὐδὲ τις ἀνδρῶν εἰσορῶν γίνωσκε βαθυζώνων τε γυναικῶν.*

781. **ὄχθῳ**: *i.e.* the Acropolis. Cf. *Ion* 12 Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ, *H.F.* 1178 ὦ τὸν ἐλαιόφορον ὄχθον ἔχων.

782. **ὀλολύγματα.** The word is used of *women's* cries only (*Pollux* 1 28).

**παννυχίσι**: for the celebration of the Pannychis at the Panathenaea see Appendix.

**ὑπὸ**: of musical accompaniment. Cf. Lucian *Tim.* c. 46 *ἐλεγεία ἄση ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τῇ δικέλλῃ*, Dio Chrys. p. 407 *Α χοροὺς ὑπὸ τῷ μέλει τούτῳ στησόμεθα παίδων καὶ παρθένων.*

**παρθένων** is adjectival in *Ion* 270 *ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας*, *Phoen.* 838 *παρθένῳ χερί.* It is better, therefore, to take it so here than to assume an awkward double genitive.

784. **συντομωτάτους.** Wilamowitz thinks that the point of this and the following line is merely to draw the parallel between *σύντομος* and *καλός*: that message is best for the bearer which requires the receiver to hear least. He quotes Callim. *epigr.* 8 (*A.P.* IX 566) *μικρὴ τις Διόνυσε καλὰ πρήσσουντι ποιητῆ ῥῆσις, i.e.* success requires no preface: one word is enough. It is possible, however, that *καλλίστους* hints at the customary reward given to messengers of good tidings, for which see Headlam in *Cl. Rev.* xvi p. 60. Kirchhoff and others have suspected that the two clauses have been accidentally inverted, and that this should be remedied by interchanging the position of *καλλίστους φέρω* and *συντομωτάτους.*

785. **ἐμοί τε τῷδε**, 'to me here,' is much suspected (*λέγειν τε*

τῶδε Jacobs, ἐμοί τ' ἐγάδα...φέρων Wilamowitz). Cf. *Andr.* 65 τῇ πρόσθ' ἀνάσση τῆδε, 313 τοῦδε Μενέλω, *Thuc.* I 53 ἡμᾶς τοῦσδε λαβόντες.

786. νικῶμεν: a present-perfect: Goodw. § 27.

τροπαῖα: see *Dict. Ant.* The *locus classicus* for the construction of a trophy is *Verg. Aen.* XI 5 ff.

788. διήγαγεν. In adopting Elmsley's reading, I have relied principally on the parallel of *Soph. EL.* 782 ὁ προστατῶν χρόνος διηγέ μ' αἰὲν ὡς θανουμένην. Thus διάγω with an acc. of the person is to direct, control, guide etc. as in *Isocr.* 3. 41 τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμοιοῖα πειρᾶσθαι διάγειν. 'This day hath led thee to freedom': note the force of the aor. Dobree well quotes *Dem.* 9. 36 ἦν τι τότ'...ὁ ἐλευθέραν ἤγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα. For the inf. expressing result aimed at see Goodw. § 770. If διήλασεν is kept with ἐλευθερῶσαι, the meaning would be 'this day hath ended in freeing you,' but there seems to be no analogy for this or for Reiske's διήνυσεν.

789. ἀγγέλλασιν is causal dat. For the reward due to the messenger see on 784 and *Hel.* 1280.

791. φόβος εἰ: an indirect question, with εἰ = *whether*. Cf. *Med.* 184 φόβος εἰ πείσω δέσποιναν ἐμήν. The phrase is here practically equivalent to *vereor ut*: contrast *Andr.* 61 φόβω μὲν, εἴ τις δεσποτῶν αἰσθήσεται, showing that the context is the only guide to the meaning.

792. μέγιστον: 597.—γ' assures or confirms the answer. Similarly *H.F.* 770 ὁ δὲ παλαιότερος κρατεῖ, λιμένα λιπῶν γε τὸν Ἀχερόντιον.

793. Murray, retaining the mss. reading, remarks:—'Praetereudicatur, ni fallor, in pompa Iolaus iuvenis factus, sed post illud miraculum silentium tenet.' This appears to me less credible than that there is some slight corruption in the text. Adopting Elmsley's οὔν, I have suggested τάδε, as nearer to ὅδε than ἔτι, with the sense 'Does this include old Iolaus?' Cf. *Cycl.* 63 οὐ τάδε Βρόμιος, οὐ τάδε χοροί, *Andr.* 168 οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' Ἐκτωρ τάδε, *Thuc.* VI 77 βουλόμεθα δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ Ἴωνες τάδε εἰσίν.

μὲν...οὔν have here their separate force. μὲν indicates a preliminary question, but the sequel is postponed until 797. See *Hel.* 1226 n.

794. πράξας, *faring*, as ἐκ θεῶν (587) shows.—γ': 499.—δή qualifies the superlative.

796. ἐκ γέροντος: Soph. *O.T.* 454 τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος, inf. 939.

797. ἔλεξας: momentary aorist.

φίλων μάχης ἀγῶνα. Note the double genitive, where μάχης is genitive of definition. 'The battle-struggle of our friends.' Cf. Soph. *Ai.* 54 λείας ἄδαστα βουκόλων φρουρήματα.

799. Rassow calls attention to this line, as an exception to the rule that a messenger's speech begins without any introduction. He thinks that the redactor (see *Introd.* p. xxxvi) has been at work here, and condemns *Rhes.* 284 for the same reason. *I.A.* 1540 stands on a different footing.

800. γάρ: introductory, opening the narrative.

ἀλλήλοισιν. 'When we had drawn up our lines face to face with each other.' A quite unnecessary difficulty has been found here, owing to the notion that a verb in the third person is required. Note that (1) the speaker includes himself as one of the combatants in the subject of ἀντετάξαμεν, where a mention of the generals only might have been more appropriate, (2) the singular στρατὸν illustrates the common tendency to use it *distributively*. See Shilleto on *Thuc.* I 14. 4 αὐται (*sc.* αἱ νῆες) οὐπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα.

ὀπλίτην: 699.

801. κατὰ στόμ': in the military sense. Cf. *Rhes.* 408, 491, 511.

ἐκτείνοντες, 'deploying,' is intransitive in *Suppl.* 654.

802. πόδα: 168.

803. δορός = *army*: 276. Greek idiom generally expresses only one limit after words like μεταίχμιον: thus *Cho.* 61 ἐν μεταίχμιω σκότου = *between light and darkness*. There is a double redundancy in the use of μέσοισιν (cf. *Phoen.* 1361) and of δορός in combination with μεταίχμοις, showing that the original force of the compound is not prominent. Cf. *Hec.* 102 λόγχης αἰχμῆ δοριθήρατος.

805. τί...οὐκ εἴασαμεν: as the text stands, this appears to be an instance of the aor. used in impatient questions with τί οὐ, where we should require the present. This idiom is especially common in the dialogue of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristophanes (*Goodw.* § 62). Cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 213 τί οὐκ ἀπεκοιμήθημεν ὅσον ὅσον στίλην; As, however, there is probably a lacuna after this line (see *cr. n.*), it is not certain that εἴασαμεν = *let be*.



807. **ἀνδρός**: a (single) man. Cf. *Andr.* 909 *κακὸν γ' ἔλεξας ἀνδρα δίσσ' ἔχειν λήχη*. Wecklein treats it as a collective singular, but this is less forcible. The connexion of thought is :—so far from losing a single man, you will either acquire the surrender of the Heraclidae, or have to make way for me. Paley and others make *ἀνδρός στερήσας* independent of the negative in the sense 'if you lose your life,' but this does not fit the following clause.

**ἀλλ'** appears to mean *on the contrary*, and to have the effect of confirming the preceding negation (Kühner-Gerth § 534, 4). The sense of *nay but* (565 n.) is unsuitable.

**μόνος μόνῳ**. The iteration emphasises the collective notion of single combat. *Andr.* 1221 *μόνος μόνουσιν ἐν δόμοις ἀναστρέφῃ*. *Soph. Ai.* 467.

808. **ἄγου**: '*tecum abduc*,' Elmsley, rendering the force of the middle: cf. 256. It expresses complete resignation in Cleanth. fr. 91 *ἄγου δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σύγ' ἡ πεπρωμένη*, Eur. fr. 133 *ἄγου δέ μ', ἄ ξέν', εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις εἴτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμῶιδ'*.

810. **ἄφες**, *abandon*, has been suspected without reason by Nauck and others. Cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 292 *ἐχθροῖς ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἴαν*.

811. **ἐς**: *with reference to*: see on *Hel.* 679.

812. **λελέχθαι**. The inf. follows *ἐπήνεσ'*, as a *verbum declarandi*. So after *ψέγω* Plat. *rep.* 404 D. In *Rhes.* 648 *ἐπαινῶ δ' εἰ παθοῦσα πρὸς σέθεν* we have the participial construction.

813. **οὔτε** negatives both *αἰδεσθεῖς* and *ἐτόλμησ'*. So Thuc. vi 33 *ὅμως δ' οὐ καταφοβηθεῖς ἐπισχῆσω*, Herod. vii 150 *Ἀργείους... οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν*, *Hērō.* 1429.

814. **αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ** emphasises by repetition like *μόνος μόνῳ* (807). Observe that it contrasts with *τοὺς κλύοντας*: he did not respect either others or himself.

**δειλίαν**. *αἰδεσθεῖς* appears to be used in different senses with the two objects—respecting not the hearers, and not being ashamed of his own cowardice. For the latter cf. *Hērō.* 244 *αἰδούμεθα γὰρ τὰ λελεγμένα μοι*. It is instructive to contrast Pind. *Pylh.* 4. 173 *αἰδεσθέντες ἀλκάν*, well rendered by Gildersleeve 'from self-respect,' *i.e.* respecting a reputation for courage. In such cases it may be said that the noun is viewed subjectively, so that *δειλία* = the thought of cowardice: see also on *Hel.* 886. Cf. *I. T.* 676 *καὶ δειλίαν γὰρ καὶ κάκην κεκτήσομαι*, *Rhes.* 926 *συγγόνους αἰδουμένη καὶ παρθένειαν*.

στρατηγὸς ὧν attaches closely to δειλιαν.

815. (οὐκ) ἐτόλμησ', 'could not bring himself' to face the danger (*non sustinuit*). *Suppl.* 882 παῖς ὧν ἐτόλμησ' εὐθὺς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὰς Μουσῶν τραπέσθαι, *Soph. El.* 1050 οὔτε γὰρ σὺ τᾶμ' ἔπη τολμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν, οὔτ' ἐγὼ τοὺς σοὺς τρόπους. For the prose use see Wyse on *Isae.* 1. 31 and add *Dem.* 21. 174.

816. εἶτα. The clause is, I think, more forcible, if taken as interrogative: εἶτα, as an interrogative particle, expresses the emotion 'vel indignantis vel admirantis vel ridentis sic tamen ut risum expresserit indignatio' (Valckenaer on *Phoen.* 549). Most editors, however, put a full stop at the end of 817.

817. δουλώσω. Elmsley pointed out that the middle voice ('*sibi* in servitutem redigere') might have been expected here. But the active is, of course, not incorrect, as the middle would have been in *Rhes.* 407 σοὶ δὲ δουλώσας λεῶν παρέσχον. Cf. *Soph. Trach.* 257.

819. μονομάχου δι' ἀσπίδος = in single combat: 685 n. Wilamowitz (*comment.* p. xi) thinks that the challenge was intended to recall the occasion on which Hyllus lost his life at the hands of Echemus, the king of Tegea, when the Heraclidae unsuccessfully attempted to re-enter the Peloponnese.

821. οὐκ ἔμελλον. The asyndeton is effective: so *Aesch. Cho.* 288 κινεῖ, παράσσει, *Hel.* 930 (n.).

822. λαιμῶν βροτείων. If this refers to human sacrifice, or more particularly to the death of Macaria, the abruptness of the allusion is amazing: see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. I agree with Vonhoff (p. 23) that the σφάγια of 399 and 674 are meant, and the plural number, as he remarks, points the same way. But there is no probability in his βοείων or Paley's βοτείων in view of the parallelism of *I.A.* 1084. I incline to the view that βρότειος means 'gory,' being derived from the Homeric βρότος. This suggestion is at least as old as the time of Barnes, and must have occurred to many since (*e.g.* England on *I.A. l.c.*).

οὔριον, 'propitious,' has lost its original sense. So *Hel.* 1588 αἵματος δ' ἀπορροαὶ ἐς οἶδμ' ἐσηκόντιζον οὔριαι ξένω.

824. πλευροῖς. Without condemning the fem. plur. πλευραί, as Elmsley did, wherever it occurs (see *Jebb* on *Soph. Ai.* 1410), it seems more natural here that πλευροῖς should be accommodated to πλευρ' (cr. n.). Cf. *Or.* 223, 800, *Alc.* 367.

826. **ξυμπολίται** is condemned by Phrynichus (p. 255 Rutherford), Pollux III 51, Schol. Ar. *Pac.* 909. Pollux states that Eur. employed it also in the *Theseus* (fr. 394).

827. **καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ**. The repetition of the article is unusual, but gives additional emphasis. There are many good illustrations in the orators: cf. Dem. I. 25 *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι*, 23. 150, Antiph. I. 21. Similarly Plat. *rep.* 334 E, 341 B, 611 E. For the converse case see *Med.* 288 *τὸν δόντα καὶ γήμαντα καὶ γαμουμένην*, where three different persons are referred to.

**τιν'** = πάντα τινά. Cf. *Il.* II 382 *εὐ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω*, Soph. *Ai.* 416 *τοῦτό τις φρονῶν ἴστω*.

828. **θέλειν** is a certain correction of **θέλων**. For the meaning ('choose') see on 13. Argos is here the city, and not, as sometimes, the district (Jebb on Soph. *El.* 4).

829. **ἐλίσσετο** does not imply that either Eurystheus or his army were wanting in courage. It only expresses the vigour of his rhetoric.

830. **ἐσήμην'**: *scil.* ὁ σαλπικτής. The subject is often omitted, when there is no doubt about the agent. So *Or.* 707 *ναῦς...ἔστη δ' αὔθις, ἣν χαλᾶ πόδα* (Wedd's note). Hence the so-called ellipse of *τις* in cases like the Homeric *ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον ἀπῆν ὄσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας* (*Od.* V 400).

**Τυρσηνικῆ**. The long and straight form of trumpet is meant. It may have been called 'Tyrrhenian' either as brought to Europe by Tyrrhenian pirates, or as an invention of the Lydians, from whom the Tyrrhenians were sprung (Jebb on Soph. *Ai.* 17). Cf. *Phoen.* 1377.

832. **αὐχέις**: *think*. See on 333.

**βρέμειν** is the imperfect infinitive: Goodw. § 119. A good instance is Soph. *Trach.* 70 *τὸν μὲν παρελθόντ' ἄροτον...φασί νιν λάτρην πονεῖν*. Cf. *Hel.* 1078 n. Wyse on Isae. IV 3. 2 shows that the extension of this idiom in Greek is largely due to careless writing.

833. Musgrave, looking for a contrast, and following *Il.* IV 450 *οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχολὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν*, wished to substitute *εὐχολήν*, which is not a tragic word, for *οἰμωγήν*. The Greeks were more exuberant than we are in the expression of emotion, and the cumulative description is not unusual: cf. Thuc. VII 71 *ὑπὸ μῆς*

ὄρμησ οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ στόνῳ πάντες, Aesch. *Pers.* 426 οἰμωγῇ δ' ὁμοῦ κωκύμασιν κατείχε πελαγίαν ἄλα.

834. **πίτυλος** here is the rhythmical swing, the regularity of the impetus of the drilled soldier. In Theocr. 22. 127 αἰεὶ δ' ὄξυτέρῳ πιτύλῳ δηλείτο πρόσωπον it refers to the regularly repeated blows of the trained boxer. In Eur. fr. 495, 11 N. οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πίτυλον ἤπειγον δορός the meaning is *to return a salute*: see Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 816.

835. **ἐρρήξαθ'**: the act. is more common, but the subjective middle occurs also in Homer: *Il.* xi 90.

**ἐχώρησαν**: *scil.* Ἀργεῖοι, to be supplied from Ἀργεῖου δορός. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* vii 9, 10 πόλιν γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεῖ...μάλα δ' ἐθέλοντι κ.τ.λ. A long list of instances from Latin and Greek is given by Mayor on *Juv.* xiv 241 *quantum dilexit Thebas...Menoecus in quorum sulcis* etc.

836 f. For the general sense cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii 130 φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκει προθελύμῳ· ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυιν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνῆρ, Tyrtae. ii. 31 καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θεῖς...καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω, Verg. *Aen.* x 361 *haeret pede pes, densusque viro vir*. For **ἐπάλλαχθῆς**=*locked* cf. Plut. *Lucull.* 21 περιεστῶτας ἐπῆλλαγμέναις δι' ἀλλήλων ταῖς χερσίν, *coni. fraec.* 20 p. 140 E οἱ δεσμοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπάλλαξιν ἰσχὺν δι' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνουσιν. Since ποὺς is not well accommodated to ἐκαρτέρει, we must assume a slight zeugma. Elmsley, whom Murray follows, preferred ἐκαρτέρει μάχη with *nominativus pendens*. He quoted Herod. i 76 μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης, Thuc. iv 43 etc., but there does not appear to be any authority for such a use of *καρτερεῖν*.

838. **τοῦ κελύματος** is unquestionably corrupt, and L. Dindorf's δύο κελύματα has found much favour. Murray has ἦν δ' ὁμοῦ κελύματα, but it is perhaps more likely that τοῦ κ. is a gloss which has thrust out the original text than that it is an accidental deprivation of it. If so, the original may have been something like ἦν δὲ πᾶσ' ὁμοῦ βοή.

839. **ὦ τὰς Ἀθήνας** requires οἰκοῦντες or the like to be supplied from σπείροντες: see on 311.

840. **ἀρήξεται** is constructed like ἀμύνω and τιμωρῶ (*Phoen.* 935), c. dat. pers. and acc. rei. So *Tro.* 776 παιδί τ' οὐ δυναίμεθ' ἄν θάνατον ἀρήξαι.

841. πάντα δρώντες, 'using every effort,' like the prosaic πάντα ποιεῖν (Plat. *Euthyphr.* 8 c).

844. δεξιάν. For the hyperbaton see 160, 205.

845. ἐμβῆσαι with double acc.: cf. *Cycl.* 466 σέ...κοῖλον ἐμβήσας σκάφος. Similarly ταῦρον...εἰσέθεντο σέλματα, *Hel.* 1566. It is perhaps best to treat these as a special development of the acc. expressing the goal of motion.—It seems that Iolaus takes the place of the ἡνίοχος and that Hyllus was παραιβάρης.

847. ἐπέιχε: *instabat*. So in Homer: *Od.* xxii 75 ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχωμεν ἀθρόοι: cf. *Bacch.* 1130 ὄχλος τε πᾶς ἐπέιχε βακχῶν.

κλύων: the present is inaccurately used: Goodw. § 28. Cf. 536.

848. δεῦρο: 'hitherto,' especially in the phrase δεῦρ' αἰεὶ (*Hel.* 761).

849. Παλληνίδος. We are not exactly informed as to the site of the battle, but should infer from this passage that it was fought in the neighbourhood of Marathon. Pallene, the deme in which the temple of the goddess (Παλλήνιον) was situated, was at the northern end of Hymettus and rather less than 10 miles E.N.E. of Athens (Jebb in *Journ. Phil.* 1 157). It was here that the forces of Peisistratus marching from Marathon met the Athenian democrats (Herod. 1 62).

ἐκπερῶν, 'while crossing over,' is logically subordinate to ἰδών. For these awkward accumulations of participles see on *Hel.* 597.

851 f. are alluded to by Plut. *Stoic. abs. poet. dic.* 2 p. 1057 E ὁ Εὐριπίδου Ἰόλαος ἐξ ἀδρανούς καὶ παρήλικος εὐχῆ τιμὴ νέος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἄφνω γέγονεν.

852. δίκην should be regarded as taking the place of τίσις, or, in other words, the acc. of content has become an acc. of *result* (Delbrück), as in the Homeric οὐλήν τήν ποτέ μιν οὖς ἤλασε (*Od.* xxiii 74). Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 230 δίκην μέτειμι φῶτα, Eur. *Med.* 261 πόσις δίκην τῶνδ' ἀντιτίσασθαι κακῶν, *Bacch.* 345. But it is important to distinguish the double acc. in *Or.* 423 μετῆλθόν σ' αἶμα, *Cycl.* 695, *Alc.* 733 which has a different history.

853. δῆ: now, at this point—somewhat lighter than ἦδη.

854. δισσῶ...ἀστέρ'. We are reminded of the double light seen on the masts of a ship during a storm, to which the name of Castor and Pollux was given (*Hel.* 140). The two lights were a sign of safety; a single light was called Helena (cf. ἐλένας) and betokened the worst: see Frazer on Pausan. 11 1. 9.

856. **δη** emphasises the pronoun, and **γ'** belongs to the whole clause: cf. 632.

857. **δ δ'**: Iolaus.

860. **Σκιρωνίσι**: called after the robber Sciron, who hurled his victims into the sea and was slain by Theseus. The narrow path crossing the face of the cliffs for about six miles at a height of six or seven hundred feet above the sea was known in modern times as 'the Evil Staircase': see the description in Frazer's *Pausanias* II p. 546.

863. **πάροιθε**: for the inversion of the natural order cf. 617 **ὁ πρόθυμος ἀεί**, *Hel.* 1066 **τοὺς θανόντας ἐναλίους**. For the fact cf. 385.

864. **μαθεῖν** depends on **λαμπρὰ**—clear and unmistakable.

865. **πρὶν ἂν** with preceding negative: 180.—The famous maxim, not to consider anyone happy during his life-time, is known best in connexion with the story of Croesus (Herod. I 32). It is often utilised by the tragedians, as by Eur. in *Andr.* 100, *Tro.* 511, *I.A.* 161. Aristotle discusses its philosophical value in *Eth.* I 10, pointing out that Happiness does not consist in good fortune, although requiring its assistance. The saying is copiously illustrated by Mayor on Juv. x 274 *Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae*.

866. **τις** refers back to the subject of **ζηλοῦν**, which is indefinite: see on 595 and cf. Soph. *Ai.* 964 **οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ γνώμασι τὰ γαθὸν χεροῖν ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασι πρὶν τις ἐκβάλη**, [Dem.] 44. 3 **ἀγαπῶντες, ἂν τις ἡμᾶς ἐὰ τῶν νόμων τυγχάνειν** (=if we are allowed), *Suῤῥl.* 313 **τὸ γὰρ τοι συνέχον ἀνθρώπων πόλεις τοῦτ' ἔσθ', ὅταν τις τοὺς νόμους σώζη καλῶς**.

867. **τροπαίε**: Zeus in his aspect as god of battles, not, as sometimes explained, = **ἀποτρόπαιος**, a god of propitiation. Here invoked in thanksgiving; in supplication before the struggle in *El.* 671.

869. **χρόνω**: cf. *El.* 578 **ὦ χρόνω φανείς, ἔχω σ' ἀέλιπτως**. Here the word carries an innuendo suggested by the context: 'though thou hast been tardy in regarding my sorrows.' Cf. *Hel.* 645, inf. 941.

871. **δοκοῦσ'**: imperfect participle, marked by **πρόσθεν**: 385.

872. **σαφῶς**: for certain: cf. *Or.* 1360 **τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἶδα συμφοράς, τὰς δ' οὐ σαφῶς**. For **σαφῆς** see on *Hel.* 21.

873. **νῦν δὴ**: so *ὄψέ δὴ*, *νεωστὶ δὴ*, *πάλαι δὴ*, *πολλάκις δὴ* (Starkie on Ar. *Vesp.* 1265). Cf. 234, 484.

874. **ἐλεύθεροι δέ** in anaphora, without a preceding *μέν* (491 n.). So *Med.* 98 *κινεῖ κραδίαν, κινεῖ δὲ χόλον*, 131 *ἔκλυον φωνάν, ἔκλυον δὲ βοάν*, *Alc.* 108 *ἔθιγες ψυχᾶς, ἔθιγες δὲ φρενῶν*. For Sophocles see Jebb on *Ant.* 806.

**τοῦ κακῶς ὄλουμένου**: *accursed*. This borders on the colloquial (*Cycl.* 474), but strict Attic usage would have required *ἀπολουμένου* (Ar. *Ach.* 916). I don't think it should be taken as involving a solemn threat. The abandon is characteristic of Alcmena, as we shall soon see her.

876. **ἐμβατεύετε** is the *vox propria* at law for taking possession of property in pursuance of a claim of right (Isae. 9. 3, Dem. 44. 19). The usage of the word is illustrated by Wyse on Isae. III 62. 4. The legal phraseology is continued in *κλήρους* (= 'landed estates'), but in prose *ἐμβατεύειν* would require *εἰς* in place of the simple acc. I doubt whether there is an allusion to the legendary partition of the Peloponnese among the Heraclidae.

877. **θεοῖς πατρώοις** has here a double significance: (1) they would resume the family duty of sacrifice to the *θεοὶ πατρῶοι* of their own household, intermitted owing to their banishment and the death of Heracles; (2) their separation from the *θεοὶ πατρῶοι* was a sign of the loss of civic rights, to which they would now be restored. Contrast the case of Leocrates (Lycurg. 25, 56), who, on emigrating to Megara from Athens, took with him his own *πατρῶοι*. See generally Wyse on Isae. II 1. 7.

878. **πλανήτην**: *exiled*, as being homeless vagrants. Strictly the idea is that of exclusion from the proper home, rather than that of movement from place to place. See on *Hel.* 934, where *ἀλητεῖαν* is used of Helen, though settled in Egypt.

879. **τί κεύθων...σοφόν**: 'with what cunning motive?' Cf. 762 n.

881. **παρ' ἡμῖν**: in our judgment: 201, *Med.* 763. Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1462 *πολλοῦ δ' ἐπαίνου παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖσιν εὖ φρονούσιν τυχῶν*, with Starkie's note. The use is common in the orators: Wyse on Isae. VII 5. The preposition points to a locative origin (Monro *H.G.* § 145, 7 c), but the construction has run together with the *dativus indicantis*, which is derived from the true dative.

882. Here we meet with the traditional axiom of Greek morality:

cf. 940, *Andr.* 437, *Ion* 1046, *Bacch.* 877, *Med.* 809. The sequel shows clearly enough with what disapprobation it was regarded by Euripides: see *Introd.* p. xxvii. It is not easy for us to realise the state of mind to which the duty of retaliation against enemies appeared as a fundamental truth, but Plato's dialogues contain the first open protest: see especially *Crito* 49 B, C, Thompson on *Men.* 71 E, Adam on *rep.* 331 E. The tone of Thucydides (VII 68. 1) in referring to this maxim suggests that he agreed with Euripides.

883. ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδοις: 571.

884. κρατοῦντα is of course corrupt, and has given rise perhaps to a larger crop of conjectures than any other passage in the play. I cannot see any probability in Wecklein's ναύοντα (from Hesych. in the sense of ἰκετεύοντα) or Murray's ἀποῦντα: and any word which describes Eurystheus as humiliated by his downfall appears to be out of place (cf. 983). On the whole, Reiske's κρατοῦσα has the best claim to acceptance, for the tendency to *grammatical assimilation* on the part of copyists, even in defiance of the sense, is one of the most fruitful sources of error. καὶ, if sound, would assist the process, and is capable of defence on the principle discussed on 660. The completeness of Alcmena's triumph is emphasised by the repetition (cf. 944), and the language recalls *Bacch.* 879 χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν.

885. οὐ μὴν...γ' is adversative ('not however'), with stress on the word interposed: *Soph. O. T.* 810 οὐ μὴν ἴσην γ' ἔτεισεν.

886. ἀνάγκη is instr. dat. The dative with ζεύγνυμι expresses either the yoke-fellow, or the sphere of constraint as here: cf. *Bacchyl.* 10. 45. In either case it is probably instrumental in origin, in spite of the occasional appearance of ἐν, which might suggest the locative. Contrast *Med.* 735 ὀρκίοισι...ζυγείς with *Suppl.* 1229 ἐν ὀρκίοις ζεύξομαι. But ἄρματι ζυγείς is the pattern after which the other examples were fashioned.

889. εἶπας: 788.

890. ἐλευθερώσειν. The sentence gains greatly in smoothness and finish by the acceptance of this emendation (see cr. n.).

δὲ is practically equivalent to γάρ: *Hel.* 544 n. For the sentiment cf. sup. 527 n.

892 ff. The Chorus moralises on the rewards of virtue, and the appropriateness of Athens appearing as the champion of the Heraclidae. For the metres see Appendix C.



893. **λωτοῦ**, in the sense of *flute*, is Euripidean, not being employed by Pind. Aesch. or Soph. (Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 11). We generally find in the context an allusion to the *loudness* of its music, and it was used to accompany the dance and on the occasion of a wedding. It is, therefore, not certain that ἐν δαι conceals a case of the word δαίς. Headlam (*C. R.* xv 104) suggests εἴθ' ἄδειν or εὐιάζειν. See also on 902.

894. **εἴη τ'**. See cr. n. I follow Elmsley, thinking that εἴη is subordinate to εἰ, and that μὲν (892) is answered by δέ in 895. Madvig's ingenious ἡδέϊα δ', adopted by Weckl., meets the difficulty in another way. For the optative cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1031 τὸ μανθάνειν δ' ἡδιστον εἶ λέγοντος, εἰ κέρδος λέγοι. Note that this opt. is often found, where owing to an ellipse of the verb substantive no finite verb appears in the apodosis. For εὐχαρις used carelessly with χάρις preceding see 315, and for the epithet cf. *Med.* 632.

895. **ἄρ'** is a somewhat stronger ἄρα = *after all*: 116, 268. Its position in the sentence serves to emphasise φίλων: cf. *El.* 374 πονηρῶ γ' ἄρα χρήσεται κριτῆ.

896. **ιδέσθαι**: 29.

897. **οὐ δοκούντων** is used absolutely = 'insignificant.' We must not supply a verb from εὐτυχίαν: cf. *Hec.* 295 λόγος... ἔκ τ' ἀδοξούντων ἰὼν κάκ τῶν δοκούντων, *Tro.* 613 τὰ μὲν πυργουῖσ' ἄνω τὸ μηδὲν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντ' ἀπώλεσαν.

899. **τελειοσιδῶτερ'**, giving completion, like μοῖρα τελεσφόρος in Aesch. *Prom.* 511.

900. **Αἰών** is the passage of time externalised, or, in other words, *human life* as opposed to absolute time. So *Suppl.* 787 Χρόνος παλαιὸς πατήρ... ἀμερῶν: see an admirable note by Wilamowitz on *H. F.* 669. Κρόνου (Ald. and several modern editors) is unquestionably wrong.

901. **ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.** 'Thou art steadfast in a course of justice.' For the fem. δίκαιον cf. *I. T.* 1202. Euripides is fond of giving only two terminations to adjectives, which are usually employed with three, such as δόλιος, δῆλος, ῥάδιος, πόλιος, θαλάσσιος, κύριος (143), οἰκέιος (634) and others mentioned by Monk on *Hippol.* 437.

902. **τοῦδ' ἀφέσθαι** (see cr. n.) is an improvement on the vulgate τοῦτ' or τόδ' ἀφελέσθαι, where the absence of a subject to the infinitive is very awkward. But the uncertainty of 893 necessarily leaves a doubt as to the reading of the antistrophe.

903. **τιμᾶν θεούς.** The Athenians were renowned for their piety (Soph. *O. C.* 260 τὰς γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβεστάτας εἶναι, Aesch. *Eum.* 867 quoted by Paley), as well as for their justice and humanity (sup. 330, *Suppl.* 379). Everyone will recall the testimony of *Acts* xvii 22.

ὁ δὲ μὴ κ.τ.λ. With Verrall's *σφε* in place of *σε*, the meaning would be:—'he who denies the existence of the gods.' But the connexion of thought is that the craziness of those who deny the piety of Athens is made manifest by the dealings of God with the unrighteous.—**μὴ**, which logically belongs to the inf. to be supplied, is attached to *φάσκων* by the usual meiosis.

904. **ἐγγύς...ἐλαύνει**, 'skirts close to madness,' with a metaphor taken from driving round the pillar in the chariot race: so *Bacch.* 853 ἔξω δ' ἐλαύνων τοῦ φρονεῖν. Cf. Plat. *Euthyph.* 4 B πόρρω σοφίας ἐλαύνειν (=to be far advanced in wisdom). In Aesch. *Cho.* 1020 ff. we have the fully-expanded simile.

**μανιῶν.** The plural, expressing strictly *fits of madness*, is common in Attic. So Pindar and Bacchylides (Jebb on x 109).

907. **παραγγέλλει** implies that the message is *passed on* from one generation to another. Cf. *Suppl.* 1172 ἐκ τέκνων ἀεὶ τέκνοις μνήμην παραγγέλλοντας.

908. **φρονήματος**: the partitive gen. is sufficiently defended by *Hier.* 1105 ἡ μέγα μοι τὰ θεῶν μελεδήμαθ'...λύπας παραιρεῖ, Hyperid. *epitaph.* ap. Stob. *fl.* 124. 36 ὅμως δὲ χρὴ θαρρεῖν καὶ τῆς λύπης παραιρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον. Wecklein's *φρονήματ'* ἐς is therefore unnecessary, and moreover the plur. does not occur in Eur. with the meaning *pride*.

910. **ἔστιν...βεβακῶς**: has entered into heaven, and dwells there. For the force of the periphrastic perfect see Goodw. § 45. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 52 ὁ χῶρος...ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν, *Ant.* 67 τοῖς ἐν τέλει βεβῶσιν (those who occupy office), and sup. 610.

911. **τεὸς**: see cr. n. Wilamowitz, thinking that *θεός* is required from a comparison of Pind. *Nem.* 3. 22 and Soph. *Phil.* 726, reads *θεὸς σὸς*.

912. **φεύγει λόγον**: *he is beyond the reach of the report.* So Wilamowitz, with the early commentators, comparing Pind. *Ol.* 6. 6 τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον κείνος ἀνήρ. Matthiae and others interpret:—'it passes reason.' Elmsley substituted *φεύγω*.

914. **δαισθεῖς**: most edd.—so far as I know, Matthiae is the

only exception—refer this to *δαίω* (*burn*), but there are strong reasons for connecting it with *δαίνυμι* in the sense of *fed on, devoured*. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 24 ἐπὶ γὰρ δαίσαντο πυραὶ νεογνίους φῶτας, Phrynichus (fr. 6 Nauck) ap. Pausan. x 31. 2 κρυερὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἤλυξεν μόρον, ὠκέϊα δὲ νῦν φλόξ κατεδαίσατο. Further, it should be noted that *δαίω* (*burn*) is for *δαμ-ιω*, cf. *δεδαυ-μένος*: and, though *δαισθεῖς* might be an analogical formation, it would be quite isolated as an aor. with *δαι-* from this root. For the death of Heracles on Mt Oeta see Soph. *Trach.* 1191 ff.

915. "Ἡβας. For the marriage with Hebe, the personification of eternal youth, see *Od.* xi 603, Pind. *Nem.* i. 71.

916. χρυσέαν. Cf. *Ἡίρρ.* 69 Ζητὸς πολὺχρυσον οἶκον. Eur. no doubt remembered *Il.* iv 2 χρυσέω ἐν δαπέδῳ.

918. ἡξίωσας: the verb is rarely thus employed in the sense of 'honoured.' Cf. *Hec.* 319 τύμβον...ἀξιούμενον τὸν ἐμόν ὀράσθαι, *Or.* 1210 καλοῖσιν ὑμεναίοισιν ἀξιουμένην.

919. συμφέρεται κ.τ.λ.: lit. most things correspond with others; i.e. as we should say, the world is full of coincidences. Cf. *El.* 527 ἔπειτα χαιτήης πῶς συνοίσεται πλόκος; Elmsley, however, makes πολλοῖς masc. and refers it to Heracles and his children, apparently as *dativus commodi*:—'most things agree (*congruunt*) for many people.'

920. καὶ corresponds with καὶ before τούσδε. 'As they tell us ...so did the city save' etc. Athena as the ally of Heracles is several times mentioned by Pausanias: see especially vi 19. 12. In viii 18. 3 he quotes *Il.* viii 362 οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται, ὃ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις υἱὸν τειρόμενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέης ἀέθλων. Cf. Bacchyl. v 92 with Jebb's note.

921. εἶναι is imperfect infinitive: sup. 832.

924. ὕβριν: see cr. n. Wilamowitz defends ὕβρεις, retaining ἐραστὸν in 915, but the plur. is very awkward.

925. πρὸ δίκας: who chose passionate violence in preference to justice. Cf. Plat. *rep.* 361 E τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας πρὸ δικαιοσύνης ἀδικίαν. Passion blurs the distinction between right and wrong: Hor. *Od.* i 18. 10 *qui fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum discernunt avidi*, Aesch. *Eum.* 557 τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἀνευ δίκας βιαίως.

926. φρόνημα, 'spirit,' is the expression of the ψυχή in its relation towards others. It does not mean *arrogance*, but ἀκόρεστος

belongs to both nouns. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 175 ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην κ.τ.λ.

928. μέν is answered by ἀλλά in place of δέ, as often: 997.

930. τύχην: see cr. n. The reading of the MSS. can only be construed by doing violence to the grammar, i.e. by supplying ἄελπτόν τι from ἄελπτον ὄψιν. With τύχην, ἄελπτον must of course be carried forward, and both accs. are in apposition to the sentence Εὐρυσθέα... ἄγοντες.

931. ἡύχει: expected, as in 333. Cf. *Hel.* 1621, Aesch. *Ag.* 511.

χείρας ἕξεσθαι: cf. χείριος. The phrase is as old as Homer: *Il.* X 448 ἐπεὶ ἴκεο χείρας ἐς ἀμάς.

932. πολυπόνωφ has not been satisfactorily explained. The meanings 'war-worn' (Soph. *Ai.* 637) and 'toiling' are alike out of place in the case of an army described as lusting for conquest. On the other hand, 'veteran' (Matthiae) is put out of court by usage. Rather, an explanation must be sought from the quasi-technical use of πονεῖν and πόνος, as applied to the service of the common soldier (*Andr.* 695, Soph. *Ai.* 1112), so that the compound means strictly consisting of many rank and file: in other words, it is a descriptive synonym of numerous, and may be compared with πυκνόπτεροι ἀηδόνες (Soph. *O. C.* 17) or οἰόφρων πέτρα (Aesch. *Supp.* 795). I once thought of πολυφόνωφ in the sense of 'destructive': for φόνος and πόνος are confused at *Hec.* 1197, Soph. *O. C.* 542, *Ai.* 61. For ἀσπίς used collectively = ἀσπιστῆρες cf. 276.

933. μείζον. Cobet has shown (*Nov. Lect.* p. 268 ff.) conclusively that μέγα, μείζον, ἔλαττον φρονεῖν and the like tend to be corrupted by scribes in favour of the corresponding plurals. Cf. 258, 386, 979. Thus in Soph. *Ai.* 1120 L has σμικρὰ against the metre.—The conjecture πόλιν for πολύ with Ἄθανας in 934 is plausible, but unnecessary.

934. τὴν ἐναντίαν does not agree with τύχην, but is to be explained by an ellipse of ψῆφον. 'Fate decided against him and altered his lot.' Cf. Plat. *Lach.* 184 D τὴν ἐναντίαν γάρ, ὡς ὄρας, Λάχης Νικία ἔθετο, Dem. 19. 65 τὴν ἐναντίαν ποτὲ Θεβαλοῖς ψῆφον ἔθενθ' οὗτοι περὶ ἡμῶν, Lucian *bis accus.* 32 p. 831 ῥήτωρ τις ἔοικεν εἶναι ὁ τὴν ἐναντίαν θέμενος. It is true that ψῆφον τίθεσθαι is normal, but here δαίμων is conceived as an absolute ruler (Soph. *Ant.* 60): cf. νόμον τιθέναι) (νόμον τίθεσθαι.

937. ἵστασαν. For the erection of the wooden image of Ζεὺς Τροπαῖος cf. *Phoen.* 1250, 1473.

938. ἐπιστέλλουσ'. Note the historic present following the imperfect. So in *Soph. Ant.* 419 πίμπλησι follows ἔθαλπε, and is followed by ἐν δ' ἐμεστῶθη.

939. ἐκ...εὐτυχοῦς should be taken with δυστυχοῦνθ': 796, *Sufrl.* 201 δε...βίσιον ἐκ πεφυρμένου καὶ θηριώδους θεῶν δισταθμῆ-  
σατο. For the general sense see on 881.

941. μῖσος: 52.—χρόνω: 'at last': 869.

εἶλε: cf. *Soph. El.* 528 ἡ γὰρ Δίκη νιν εἶλεν, οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνη. The metaphor may be from the legal sense—'convicted' (so Kaibel on *Soph. l. c.*). Paley thinks that Justice is regarded as a hunter, quoting *Aesch. Ag.* 1611 τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσι. But χρόνω favours the view that εἶλε simply means 'caught': cf. fr. 969 ἡ Δίκη...σίγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ στείχουσα μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς, ὅταν τύχη, *Phil. Jud. vit. Mos.* 1 18 p. 96 M. ἡ γὰρ κόλασις ἐπομένη κατ' ἔχνος μελλόντων μὲν ἐβράδυνε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀδικήματα θέοντας ἐπιδραμούσα κατελάμβανε.

942. μοι: dat. eth. = 'prithce.'

943. ἐναντίον is adverbial acc. passing to a true adverb. Cf. *Hec.* 968 αἰσχύνομαι σε προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον, *Med.* 470 φίλους κακῶς δρᾶσαντ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν. In *Hec.* 974 the construction is varied: γυναικας ἀνδρῶν μὴ βλέπειν ἐναντίον.

946. μὲν is not answered by δ' in 951, but the substance of 946 ff. is resumed in 953, and the contrasted clause comes in 954.

τὸν ὄνθ' ὅπου 'στὶ νῦν: the euphemism is illustrated by *Alc.* 1092 κείνην ὅπουπέρ ἐστι τιμᾶσθαι χρεῶν.

948 ff. The usual order of these lines is indefensible:—(1) 948, with καθυβρίσαι following ἐφυβρίσαι, is awkwardly placed, and Nauck's bracket is deserved; (2) the absence of a copula between κατήγαγες and ἔπεμπες is objectionable; (3) it is unnatural, if not impossible, that the descent to Hades (πόνων τελευτάν *H. F.* 428) should precede 950. These objections are partly avoided by Herwerden's transposition of 949 and 950, involving the alteration of κατήγαγες to κάτω χθονὸς or the like. But the imperfect (ἔπεμπες) would then be unintelligible. Thinking it certain that there has been some disturbance, I propose the transposition of 948, 950 as to follow 951. The asyndeton of the words ὕδρας...ἔπεμπες is due to the fact that they are explanatory of πολλὰ μὲν...ἐφυβρίσαι (see Index). The relation of the two

clauses is obscured rather than assisted by the conventional modern punctuation; but it would be equally misleading to place a note of interrogation after *ἐπεμπες*.

950. *ὔδρας*: the plural expresses exaggeration. Cf. *I. T.* 1359 (quoted by Jerram) *κλέπτοντες ἐκ γῆς ξόανα καὶ θυηπόλους*—the image and the priestess. The soundness of this passage is proved by its close resemblance to *H. F.* 579 *ὔδρα μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην λέοντί τε Εὐρυσθέως πομπαῖσι*: cf. *ib.* 152.

949. *κατήγαγες* is used as if Eurystheus had been the direct agent. So the accuser is said *ἀποκτείνειν*, when his action results in the death of a criminal (Plut. *Demosth.* 14. 4 etc.). The same principle is illustrated on *Hel.* 1125.

952. *μακρὸς*: tedious, *i.e.* too long. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 875 *ὅπως δὲ χῶπη, ταῦτα δεῖ μακροῦ λόγου εἰπεῖν*, Soph. *El.* 1335 *ἀπαλλαχθέντε τῶν μακρῶν λόγων*.

956. *γέροντας* includes Iolaus, who is not referred to in 954.

959. *καὶ κερδανεῖς ἅπαντα*: *and the gain will be all on your side*. Cf. *Med.* 454 *πᾶν κέρδος ἡγοῦ ζημιουμένη φυγῆ*, *Suppl.* 708 *οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικῶν τοῦτ' ἐκέρδαιεν μόνον*.—*χρῆν* (see cr. n.) is necessary here. The supposition is unreal, and the fact that Eurystheus is still alive makes no difference. See Goodw. § 422, 1.

961—972 are distributed in the mss. between the Chorus and the Messenger (*ἀγ.*), so that Alcmena speaks for the first time at 973. Barnes substituted Alcmena for the Messenger throughout, and Tyrwhitt gave the lines assigned to the Chorus to the Messenger. Apart from the substitution of *Θεράπων* for *Ἄγγελος* by Rassow and others (Introd. p. xiv, n.), all recent editors, except Murray, have acquiesced in the alteration. Murray follows the mss., so far as concerns the lines which they ascribe to the Chorus, gives 962 to the Servant, but 963 etc. to Alcmena. But it is difficult to see how 967 could be addressed to the Chorus, who had been on the stage throughout and were necessarily ignorant of what had passed on the battle-field.

963. *δῆ* emphasises the following interrogative. So *Or.* 101, *Suppl.* 457. 'What law is it then that prevents...?'

965. *τί δῆ τόδ'*; 'what then is *this*?' *δῆ* goes with the demonstrative: cf. *Bacch.* 822, *Ion* 275. So in Homer:—*εὖ δῆ ταῦτά γ' ἔφησθα, γέρον φίλε* (*Od.* III 357).

966. The question how far this principle was respected in

practice at the time of the Peloponnesian War is discussed in the Introduction : p. xxvii.

967. **δόξανθ'**: for the supplementary participle after *ἐξανέχομαι* see Goodw. § 879 and for the aorist tense § 148.

968. **χρῆν** (see cr. n.): Kirchhoff altered *δ'* to *γ'*, but with the ironical *οἶμαι* (511) no particle is required. 'I suppose he should have disobeyed this land.' *ἀπιστεῖν* in this sense is common to Herod. and the Tragg., but does not occur in Attic prose, except here and there in Plato, as at *apol.* 29 c.—**χθονί** = *πόλει*, as in 1024 and often.

969 f. Alcmena argues that the decision does not apply in this case, for Eurystheus ought not to be alive. The reply is that the mere fact of a wrong having been done formerly does not justify its repetition. If Alcmena's view is to prevail, a double injustice will be inflicted upon Eurystheus: (1) he was deprived of his right to die on the battle-field, and (2) he will also lose his right to live as a captive.

970. **τότε**: *formerly*. No definite occasion is named, but the reference is well understood. Cf. 434, *Med.* 1402 *νῦν σφε προσαυδᾶς, νῦν ἀσπάζῃ, τότε' ἀπώσάμενος*, *Soph. Ai.* 650. See also on *Hel.* 1081.

971. **ἐν καλῶ** is practically equivalent to *καλόν*, in the sense of *εὐκαιρον*. Cf. *Hel.* 1277 *ἐν εὐσεβεί γοῦν νόμιμα μὴ κλέπτειν νεκρῶν* (n.). *ἐν καλῶ* is found also in prose: *Plat. rep.* 1X 571 B. In view of these instances, it seems unnecessary to follow Wecklein in taking the clause personally.

973. **κάμ'**. To render 'even I' would exaggerate the mock humility, and the force of the particle can only be given in English by the tone of the speaker.

**τινα**: some one—of importance. Cf. *Ion* 596 *ζητῶ τις εἶναι*, *El.* 939 *ἤσχεις τις εἶναι τοῖσι χρήμασι σθένων*. So in Latin: *Pers.* 1. 129 *sese aliquem credens*.

974. It is important to realise the nature of the situation, in order to understand Alcmena's conduct throughout the concluding scene. If the Athenians had resolved that Eurystheus was not to die, how could Alcmena have the power to kill him? Though this seems to be denied in 961, we have here only a mild protest, which is completely lost on Alcmena (978 ff.). It should be observed, however, that *σοι* in 961 is ethic dative; and the line must not be interpreted as amounting to a denial of her power to kill

Eurystheus, if she chooses to exercise it. He was the prisoner of Iolaus, and was handed over to Alcmena by him and Hyllus. But the attendant cannot bring himself to believe that she will venture to act in defiance of Athenian sentiment. He is now undeceived.

976. **χείρας**: 931.

977. Cf. *Med.* 793 οὔτις ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται.

978. **πρὸς ταῦτα**. Cobet, *N. L.* p. 271 ff., objects to the text on two grounds: (1) *πρὸς ταῦτα* introduces a threat, of which he gives many illustrations, and is incompatible with *λέξει*. But the future is concessive, and *O. C.* 956 *πρὸς ταῦτα πράξεις οἷον ἂν θέλῃς* is exactly parallel. (2) The articles in *τὴν θρασεῖαν* and *τὴν φρονούσαν* are wrongly added, since *λέγειν* is not the equivalent of *καλεῖν*, after which the article normally marks a quotation. But cf. *Plat. Gorg.* 489 Ε τοὺς βελτίους καὶ κρείττους πότερον τοὺς φρονημωτέρους λέγεις; (*Kühner-Gerth* § 461, 1 anm. 4).

980. **πεπράξεται**: for the future perfect see *Goodw.* § 79.

981. **καὶ** is equivalent to 'and yet': cf. *Soph. Ant.* 332 πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοῦδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει. So commonly *et* in Latin: *Tac. Ann.* 1. 38 *reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos*.

982. **πρὸς ἄνδρα τόνδε** goes closely with *νεῖκος*, according to the usual prose idiom. Cf. *Dem.* 19. 85 *τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους*, *Isocr.* 8. 38 *δείσας τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν* and other instances quoted by *Wyse* on *Isae.* 1 17.

983. **μή** is due to the preceding imperative.

984. **ψυχῆς πέρι**: *to save my life*. The phrase *περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ δρόμος* was proverbial (*Plat. Theaet.* 172 Ε, *Ar. Vesp.* 376, *Herod.* IX 37): see also on *Hel.* 946.

985. **δειλίαν ὀφλεῖν**: *H. F.* 1348. For the force of the abstract noun see on 814.

986. **ἠράμην**: 'assumed, took upon myself.' For the distinction between *ἄρασθαι* (with *ā* from *αἰρω*, contracted *αἶρω*) and *ἀρέσθαι* (with *ǎ* from *ἄρνημαι*) 'to acquire, win' see *Jebb's Appendix* on *Soph. Ai.* 75.

987. **ἤδη γε**: 'I knew forsooth that I was....' Observe that *γε* emphasises the whole clause, which is explanatory of *οὐχ ἔκων* with *asyndeton*, and not the word *ἤδη* alone. *γε* never developed itself completely as a connecting particle. Cf. *H. F.* 631 *ἄξω λαβῶν γε τοῦσδ' ἐφοκκίδας χεροῖν*, where *Wilamowitz* has a good note.



**αὐτανέψιος** : the relationship existed on both sides. Their fathers Sthenelus and Electryon were both sons of Perseus, and their mothers were both daughters of Pelops.

988. **Ἡρακλέει** : 8.

989. **γάρ** : since she was a goddess, I could not help myself.

990. **κάμνειν...ἔθηκε** : 'caused me to.' This construction is confined to poetry: cf. *Med.* 718 *παίδων γονὰς σπείραι σε θήσω* (*Class. Rev.* II p. 243), *Bacchyl.* 3. 7. The addition of the pronoun *τήνδ'* is essential to the construction of the cognate acc. (Mayor on *Cic. Phil.* II 42), and without it *νόσω κάμνειν* would be required (Hermann on *Soph. Phil.* 281).

993. **σοφιστής** : *contriver, plotter*, as in *Aesch. Prom.* 62 *ἵνα μάθῃ σοφιστῆς ὧν Διὸς νωθέστερος*. The word is used here in its most simple sense as a verbal noun: the meaning '*an expert in*' would be less suitable to the context.

994. **νυκτὶ συνθακῶν** : 'sitting in council with the night'—a striking phrase, which suggests Aeschylus rather than Euripides. The prose counterpart is in *Herod.* VII 12 *νυκτὶ βουλήν διδοῦς*, and both presuppose the proverb *ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή*. There was also a popular derivation of *εὐφρόνη* from *εὐ φρονεῖν* : see *Cornut.* 14 p. 18, 2 *Lang*, who quotes from *Epicharmus* *αἶ τί κα ζατῆς σοφόν, τὰς νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητέον* (fr. 270 *Kaibel*). The edd. refer to *Pind. Pyth.* 4. 115 *νυκτὶ κοινάσαντες ὁδόν*, in the sense of 'travelling by night': but that is merely ornate, and contains a much less strong personification than the present passage.

996. **συνοικίην** : *be conversant with*—a common metaphor in the tragedians. Cf. *Hērph.* 1220 *ἵππικοῖσιν ἤθεσι πολὺς ξυνοικῶν*, fr. 370 *μετὰ δ' ἡσυχίας πολιῶ γήρα συνοικίην*. So in the prose of *Plato* : e.g. *rep.* 587 C *δούλαις τισὶ δορυφόροις ἡδοναῖς ξυνοικεῖ*.

997. **μὲν** is out of place. The natural order would be *ἀριθμὸν μὲν οὐκ ὄντα κ.τ.λ.* Cf. *Soph. Phil.* 279 *ὄρωντα μὲν ναῦς...πάσας βεβῶσας, ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἐντοπον*, *Al.* 56. It is constantly answered by *ἀλλὰ* in lieu of *δέ* : sup. 928, *Or.* 563, *Hērph.* 47.

**ἀριθμὸν** is used like *numerus* and our *cipher*. Cf. *Tro.* 475 *ἀριστεύοντ' ἐγεινάμην τέκνα, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως*, *Ar. Nuῦ.* 1203 *ὄντες λίθοι, ἀριθμός, πρόβατ' ἄλλως*, *Hor. Ep.* I 2. 25 *nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere natī*.

998. **καὶ** goes with *ἐχθρὸς ὧν* in the sense of *καίπερ* : *Med.* 866 *καὶ γὰρ οὔσα δυσμενής*.

999. γοῦν. Headlam's correction assumes that γοῦν was corrupted to γ' through its compendium. Wilamowitz inserts 'μοι, and Wecklein adopts γε χρηστά from Mekler. With γοῦν, ἀκούσεται alone is emphasised: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1425 γνώση διδαχθεὶς ὄψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

1001. πρὸς: 77.

1002. πάντα κινήσαι πέτρον: of unremitting labour, like πᾶσαν ἰέναι γλώσσαν, πάντα κάλων σείειν (ἐξιέναι *Med.* 278), πάσης κώπης ἄπτεσθαι.

1003. κτείνοντα: conative present (Goodw. § 25). Cf. *Phoen.* 1161 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγενόμην αὐθις ὁ σπείρας πατὴρ κτείνει με.

1004. ἐγίγνετ': were like to become. For this force of the imperfect see Goodw. § 38. δρῶντι (dat. commodi) is a conditional participle, and is best explained as covering εἰ δρῶν. Thus ἐγίγνετο may be described as the oblique form of a *dynamic* present (557 n.): ἐὰν ταῦτα δρῶ τὰμὰ γίγνεται ἀσφαλῆ. In primary sequence inf. 1049, *I. T.* 1002, pseudo-Demad. § 2 ἐγὼ ἀποθανῶν ἢ ζῶν οὐδὲν εἰμι correspond exactly. For the imperfect with resolved protasis cf. *Bacch.* 612 τίς μοι φύλαξ ἦν, εἰ σὺ συμφορᾶς τύχοις; Examples with a conditional participle are apt to be overlooked, but several are quoted by Wyse on *Isae.* 1 44. A very good illustration will be found in *Andoc.* 1. 58 φονεὺς οὖν αὐτῶν ἐγιγνόμην ἐγὼ μὴ εἰπῶν ὑμῖν ἃ ἤκουσα· ἔτι δὲ τριακοσίουσ 'Αθηναίων ἀπώλλυον, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν κακοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐγίγνετο, with other imperfects similarly employed in the immediate context. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Cl. Greek* § 213, quotes *Herod.* VIII 63 ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ 'Αθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποὶ and several other instances.

1005. οὔκουν σύ γ'. The pronoun is emphasised: *Hel.* 1251 οὔκουν ἐμαντῶ γ'... 'Would not you then...?'

ἀναλαβοῦσα is an apt word for *to take upon oneself something external, to assume*, and should not be changed (ἀν λαβοῦσα Reiske, ἀν λαχοῦσα Wecklein). Cf. *Democr. ap. Plut. quaest. conv.* VIII 10. 2 p. 735 A τὰ εἶδωλα...τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν κινήματων καὶ βουλευμάτων <ἐν> ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ παθῶν ἐμφάσεις ἀναλαμβάνοντα συν-εφέλκεσθαι κ.τ.λ. (*A* 77 Diels).

1006. λέοντος. The metaphor expresses the bitterness of hereditary enmity: so *Sufrl.* 1222 πικροὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦξετ', ἐκτεθραμμένοι σκύμνοι λέοντων, πόλεος ἐκπορθήτορες. In *H. F.* 1211 Heracles himself is compared to a lion in the fierceness of his anger.

1007. **σωφρόνως** is a scornful allusion to the charge of *ὑβρις* in 947, for the word implies the absence of violence or excess.

1008. **εἶσας**: 'wouldst *have given* permission,' a single act. Note the change of tense (Goodw. § 56).

**οὔτιν' ἄν πίθοις**: none will believe you—if you should advance such a plea.

1009. **τότε**: 970.

1010. **νόμοις**: instr. dat. expressing cause. For the sense see 966.

1011. **οὐχ ἄγνός εἰμι**. Observe (1) that *ἄγνός*, which generally represents *ιερός*, here takes the place of *ἴσσιος*: so Soph. *O. C.* 37 ἔχεις γὰρ χῶρον οὐχ ἄγνον πατεῖν, (2) the personalising construction: sup. 143. Thus the words are practically equivalent to *οὐχ ἴσιν ἐστι κτείνειν* (Dem. 23. 38).

**κατθανών** = *ἐὰν καθάνω*. Here again *ἄγνός εἰμι* should be treated as a *dynamic* present, and the sentence is parallel to 557, 1049. For the resolved protasis cf. 159, Aesch. *Eum.* 741 *νικᾷ δ' Ὀρέστης κἂν ἰσόψηφος κριθῆ*.

1012. **σωφρονοῦσα**: wise in that she honoured the god far more highly than she fostered an enmity to me. Note that *τίουσα* is subordinate to *σωφρονοῦσα*, as Pflugk pointed out. *τίω* is not found elsewhere in Euripides, but Cobet's strictures (*N.L.* p. 275), in favour of substituting *πρόσθεν τιθείσα*, are scarcely justified. *τὸν θεὸν* is Apollo, whose displeasure would be visited upon the homicide.

1013. **τῆς ἐμῆς ἔχθρας**: for the objective use of the possessive pronoun cf. *Hipp.* 965 *δυσμενεῖα σῆ*, *Hel.* 1236 *νεῖκος τὸ σόν*.

1014. **ἄ γ' εἶπας**: for your *speech* there is my answer. I have followed Hermann (see cr. n.), thinking that *πρὸς* is likely to be a gloss. Cobet objects to *γε* as otiose, but the verbal debate appears to be contrasted with their permanent relations in the future. The antecedent of *ἄ* is loosely related to *ἀντήκουσας*: cf. Soph. *O.T.* 216 *ἄ δ' αἰτεῖς...ἀλκὴν λάβοις ἂν κἀνακούφισιν κακῶν*, Eur. *Or.* 564 *ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἀπειλεῖς, ὡς πετρωθῆναί με δεῖ, ἄκουσον κ.τ.λ.*, Xen. *Hell.* II 3. 45 *ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα*.

1015. **τὸν προστρόπαιον**: 'henceforth you must invoke me as the Avenger and the Gracious One.' These words appear to express the attitude, in which Eurystheus will hereafter present

himself to the Heraclidae and the Athenians respectively. For a discussion of the details see Appendix.

1016. **γε μέντοι**: 267. He reverts to his own position.

1018. Murray thinks that there is a lacuna before this line. His grounds are (1) that there has been no previous mention of *giving up* Eurystheus, and (2) that *vv.* 1020—1025 do not agree with *vv.* 961—972. He concludes that a passage has fallen out, in which a fresh messenger arrived with a definite decree of the city for the surrender of Eurystheus. It will be observed, however, that the speaker does not make a peremptory demand: he only ventures to give 'a little advice.' And the words *δοκεῖ, πιθώμεθα* echo 964, 968. In particular, *ἀφείναι* does not introduce a new idea. The only alternatives considered as possible are either to kill the captive or to let him go, that is, to spare his life. No attempt is made to force Alcmena to choose between keeping him as a slave or surrendering him to Athens. Thus, *ἀφείναι* corresponds to *ἐξαιρήσεται* (977). Throughout the episode it is admitted that Eurystheus is Alcmena's prisoner, and that she can work her will on him: but still, if she kills him, she will incur the reprobation of Athenian sentiment (974). Observe that the pretended compromise (1022 f.) is offered in irony.

1019. **ἀφείναι**: the infinitive is explanatory of or in apposition to *σμικρόν*.

1024. **τὸ...σῶμ'** is an acc. of reference—probably exclamatory in origin (see F. W. Thomas in *Class. Rev.* xi 375). Cf. *Ar. Nuib.* 1115 *τοὺς κριτὰς ἃ κερδανούσιν...βουλόμεσθ' ἡμεῖς φράσαι*, *Av.* 652 *ἐστὶν λεγόμενον δὴ τι, τὴν ἀλώπεχ', ὡς φλαύρως ἐκοινώνησεν ἀετῷ ποτέ*, *ib.* 1269 *δεινὸν γε τὸν κήρυκα...εἰ μηδέποτε νοστήσει πάλιν*, *Eur. Hel.* 684. This construction should not be confused with the acc. of respect, which is strictly limited in its usage. For *ἀπιστήσω* cf. 968.

1025. Her resolution is not one whit abated. She is just as determined to have Eurystheus' life as in 976—980, and in 1050 ff.

**θανών**: coincident in time with the main verb, denoting that in which its action consists: *Goodw.* § 150. Some describe this as instrumental ('by his death'): see *Class. Rev.* v pp. 3, 248, Wyse on *Isae.* 13. Cf. *Aesch. Cho.* 556 *δὸλω τε καὶ ληφθῶσιν ἐν ταύτῳ βρόχῳ θανόντες*, *Eur. Hipp.* 357, *H. F.* 532.

1026. **κτείν'**: *slay on*. The present denotes that her purpose is already formed. Cf. *Andr.* 459 *κτείνεις μ'. ἀπόκτειν'*. But this force is not necessarily involved in the employment of the tense (*Hec.* 1281).

1027. **κατηδέσθη**: *shrunk from, scrupled to* (*Hcl.* 805). The inf. takes the place of the direct object: thus *Hipp.* 772 *δαίμονα στυνῶν καταδεσθείσα* = *shrinking from her sad lot*.

1028. **δωρήσομαι** construed like Lat. *donare* 'to present,' as in *Or.* 117, *Suppl.* 1167.

1029. **μείζον**, as preferred by the earlier editors, is supported by the analogy of *πλέον, πλείστον ὠφελείν* in *Andr.* 679, 681. The authority of the MSS. on such a point is of little moment.

**ἦ δοκεῖν** (see cr. n.) would give the meaning 'too great to be thought of' (Goodw. § 764). But then *χρόνῳ* loses force, and the sense required is 'will in the latter days profit you more than you now believe.' For these reasons I have adopted Wecklein's emendation.

1031. There was more than one traditional tomb of Eurystheus. Pausan. 1 44 ad fin. places it on the road from Megara to Corinth, whereas Strabo (VIII p. 377) states that he was buried at Gargettus. It is probable that Euripides alludes to the latter site, for the temple of Athene Pallenis cannot have been far from Gargettus: see on 849.

1032f. The case of Oedipus is exactly similar (*Soph. O.C.* 616—623). Cf. especially his concluding words: *κοῦποσ' Οἰδίπου ἐρεῖς ἀχρεῖον οἰκητῆρα δέξασθαι τόπων τῶν ἐνθάδ', εἶπερ μὴ θεοὶ ψεύσουσί με*. The like is told of the tomb of Orestes at Tegea (*Herod.* 1 67).

**σοὶ**: addressed to the leader of the chorus, as representing the citizens. Holding that thus *καὶ πόλει* is tautologous, Usener suggests *σῆ* for *σοὶ*, and compares *Soph. Ant.* 212 *τὸν τῆδε δύσνον καὶ τὸν εὐμενῆ πόλει*.

1033. **μέτοικος**: *a denizen*. For the application of this technical term to the dead the edd. refer to *Aesch. Pers.* 322 *σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο*, *Cho.* 680 *μέτοικον εἰς τὸ πᾶν αἰεὶ ξένον θάπτειν*.

1035. **ὅταν**: not 'as often as' nor 'when (if ever),' making the enmity conditional upon the invasion, but simply 'at that time when they shall come.' I have endeavoured to illustrate this use

of ὅταν in *Class. Rev.* xvii p. 249 ff. There is a good example in Plat. *rep.* 498D εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν βίον ὅταν αὐθις γενόμενοι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐντύχῳσι λόγοις.—The reference is to the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica at the beginning of the war: see *Introd.* p. xxxi, and cf. 313.

1036. **προδόντες**: being false to the boon they have received. So *προδώσεις ταῦτα*; (*Suppl.* 265).

**τοιούτων** connects. 'Such are the friends whom ye have championed.'

1037. **ταῦτ'**: the purport of the oracle.

1038. **ἡζόμην** (see cr. n.) is closer to the MSS. reading than Tyrwhitt's *ἡδούμην* and appropriate in sense (= *ἐντρέπεσθαι*).

1040 f. The spirit of the murdered man is to remain unappeased, until he has signalised his vengeance by the disasters of his enemies. **ἑάσης...στάξει**: 'do not permit libations (to be poured) or blood to be dripped on my tomb.' It is not usual or necessary to express the subject to the inf.: see on *Hel.* 1474 and cf. *Tro.* 1133 ff. But *αὐτοῖς* in 1042 shows that the speaker has the Heraclidae in mind. *μοι*, for which Weil would read *νιν*, is of course ethic dative.—With *χρᾶς, σπείσαι* must be supplied from *στάξει* by zeugma: see on 311.—The *locus classicus* on the ritual of hero-worship is *Plut. Arist.* 21. For the blood-drinking see *Hec.* 536, *Pind. Ol.* 1. 94, *Pausan.* x 4. 7. Libations were of wine, water, milk, honey and oil or some of them: *Aesch. Pers.* 610, *Eur. I.T.* 158, *Or.* 114 etc.—For the confusion of *τάφον* and *τόπον* cf. *Hel.* 556.

1042. **νόστον** is the return of the Heraclidae to the Peloponnese (310), and the allusion is to the difficulty with which it was effected. The parallel passage in *Suppl.* 1208 f. *φόβον γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἦν ποτ' ἔλθωσιν πόλιν, δειχθεῖσα θήσει καὶ κακὸν νόστον πάλιν* should not be used in favour of referring *νόστον* to the Spartan invasion of Attica.

**ἀντὶ τῶνδ'**: in requital for my present treatment.

1043. **διπλοῦν**: the antithesis is false, since he has not promised any other benefit to the Athenians than the discomfiture of the Heraclidae. Yet we cannot explain the words as applying merely to the double aspect of the same action viewed from opposite sides (cf. *Suppl.* 333); for, while the benefit to the Athenians is prospective, the injury to the Heraclidae will be immediate.

1046. **κατεργάσασθαι**: *win, achieve*: cf. fr. 952 *πλούτῳ δ' ἀρετὰν κατεργάσασθαι δοκέετε*.

1049. **ὠφέλει**: is sure to help. For the tense cf. *Hierp.* 47 ἡ δ' εὐκλειῆς μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπόλλυται, supr. 159, 419, and especially 557, 1011.

1050. **κυσίν**. Much ingenuity has been spent (*e.g.* Housman's *κόνει*) in attempts to reconcile this with 1023. We have already observed that in 1020 ff. Alcmena did not intend to relax. The insulting 'compromise' was a hollow sham, an affected concession to new-fangled humanitarianism. Ever since the appearance of Eurystheus, Alcmena has been forgetting her debt to Athens. Thus the words *τοῖς μετελθοῦσιν φίλων* (1023) are intended for the Athenians (cf. 1030), and are fraught with ironical intention. 'Are you going to be his friends and to tend his worthless corpse? If I may not wreak my will, as you tell me, on his body, anyhow I will have his life.' If this is right, there is no particular difficulty in the outspoken frankness of her present attitude. Irony is discarded, and she says openly that, so long as Eurystheus dies, she cares nothing for his corpse or for such scruples as the Athenians have suggested. Vindictive passion makes her reckless of consequences.

1051. **ὅπως**: in indirect quotation: Goodw. § 706. Cf. *Soph. El.* 963 καὶ τῶνδε μέντοι μηκέτ' ἐλπίσης ὅπως τεύξῃ.

1052. **ζῶν** is the emphatic word:—'Don't hope that you will live to cast me out a second time.' For the stress on the participle see on *Hel.* 1214.

1053. **ταῦτὰ δοκεῖ μοι**. These words have no relevance to the context, and I follow Hermann in marking a lacuna. Murray remarks:—'videtur post rixam unum Hemichorium Alcmenae scelus detestatum abire velle: alterum ταῦτὰ δοκεῖ μοι dicere.'

1054. **τὰ γάρ κ.τ.λ.**, lit. the acts which proceed from us shall not implicate our princes in blood-guilt. For the adv. cf. 369, and for *καθαρῶς Ion* 1334 καθαρὸς ἅπας τοι πολεμίους ὅς ἂν κτάνῃ, but this does not apply to the suppliant Eurystheus. For *ἐξ ἡμῶν* see on 23: it would be possible, but, I think, less natural to take τὰ ἐξ ἡμῶν as a loose acc. of reference (cf. 1024), making *καθαρῶς ἔσται* impersonal.—**βασιλεῦσιν**: 294.

## APPENDIX A.

The following are the passages which are referred to the *Heraclidae* by citation, but cannot be identified with any part of the existing text.

I. Orion, *flor. Eur.* 7 (fr. 852 Nauck = 848 Dind.)

ὄστις δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας ἐν βίῳ σέβει  
 ὄδ' ἐστὶ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανῶν θεοῖς φίλος·  
 ὄστις δὲ τῷ φύσαντε μὴ τιμᾶν θέλη,  
 μὴ μοι γένοιτο μήτε συνθύτης θεοῖς  
 μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ κοινόπλουν στέλλοι σκάφος.

The first two lines are also quoted by Stob. *flor.* 79, 2, with the lemma Εὐριπίδου Ἡρακλειδῶν. Nauck thinks the title may be an error for Κρησσωῶν. The sentiment of the lines is appropriate to the character of Macaria, and Vonhoff (p. 15) and Wilamowitz hold that they formed the conclusion of the speech describing her sacrifice.

3. τῷ φύσαντε is Schneidewin's corr. of τοὺς φύσαντας. Meineke prefers τὸν φύσαντα. Note the subjunctive without ἄν: Goodw. § 540.

4, 5. The presence of the impious man would vitiate the sacrifice, and bring disaster on the voyage: Aesch. *Theb.* 602, Eur. *El.* 1355 μῆδ' ἐπιόρκων μέτα συμπλείτω, Antiph. 5. 82, Hor. *od.* 3. 2. 26. In *v.* 4 the MSS. have τοῖς θεοῖς, for which Meineke substituted ποτέ.

II. Stob. *flor.* 1, 8 (fr. 853 N. = 219 D.)

τρῆς εἰσιν ἀρεταί, τὰς χρεῶν σ' ἄσκῆιν, τέκνον,  
 θεοὺς τε τιμᾶν τοὺς τε θρέψαντας γονεῖς,  
 νόμους τε κοινούς Ἑλλάδος· καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν  
 κάλλιστον ἔξεις στέφανον εὐκλείας ἀεί.

The lemma is given as Εὐριπίδης Ἡρακλείδαις by the MSS. of Stobaeus known as MA, Ἀντιόπη by ed. Trinc. In *v.* 1 τὰς



χρέων σ' is Dindorf's corr. for τὰς χρήσ' or τὰς χρήσεις of the codd. If this passage belonged to the *Heraclidae*, it may have been addressed to Demophon. Thus τιμᾶν θεοῦς is the peculiar glory of Athens (902), and Demophon has already shown his respect for his father's memory (325) and for Panhellenic custom (131, 200 : cf. *Suppl.* 526).

III. Stob. *flor.* 79, 3; Orion, *flor. Eur.* 10 (fr. 949 N.=943 D.)  
καὶ τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἀξίαν τιμὴν νέμειν.

See on *v.* 297. Stob. *flor.* 88, 7 quotes *vv.* 297—304 without this addition, and it is clear that it should be separated from the context in which it appears in *flor.* 79, 3. It is therefore only a possibility that the line comes from the *Heraclidae*, since the corruption in Stobaeus admits of various explanations.

IV. Schol. on Ar. *Eg.* 214 (τάραττε καὶ χόρδεν' ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα) παρῶδησε γὰρ τὸν ἱαμβον ἐξ Ἑρακλειδῶν Εὐριπίδου. fr. 851 N.=847 D.

See Introduction pp. xxx, xxxvii.

V. Stob. *flor.* 7, 9 (fr. 854 N.=849 D.)

τὸ μὲν σφαγῆναι δεινόν, εὐκλειαν δ' ἔχει·  
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν δὲ δειλόν, ἡδονὴ δ' ἔνι.

The lemma is Εὐριπίδης Ἑρακλεῖ for which Nauck restores Ἑρακλείδαις. The passage is cited ἀνωνύμως by Plut. *de virt. mor.* 7 p. 447 E, from whom δὲ δειλόν has been restored for δ' οὐ δεινόν. For the sentiment see on *Hel.* 301.

## APPENDIX B.

### I. On *vv.* 479—483.

The difficulty of this passage will be better appreciated from a conspectus of the various opinions which have been held concerning it; a careless reader might easily pass it over without perceiving the intricacy of the problem.

It will be convenient to divide the commentators into the following classes:—

I. Those who supply *πρεσβεύειν* with *πρόσφορος*. Thus Bauer-Wecklein (1885), with a comma after *γένους*, treating *ἀλλὰ γάρ* as elliptical (*sc.* *ἐξήλθον*) and the *γάρ* clause as correlative to *οὐ ταχθεῖσα*, standing in the place of a participial *πρόσφορος οὖσα*. This may be regarded as the view generally accepted (Musgrave, Paley, Beck, Jerram), though the punctuation varies in different editions between a full-stop and a comma after *γένους*, and a colon and a comma after *πρόσφορος*. It then becomes necessary to place a comma after *τῶνδε* in 481; to take *καί* as connecting *μέλει* with *θέλω*; and (though this does not appear to be recognised), in order to make *ἐμαντῆς πέρι* tolerable, to treat the *μή* clause as subordinate to *μέλει* as well as to *πυθέσθαι*.

II. Those who supply *πυθέσθαι* with *πρόσφορος*. So Elmsley, but with a curious reason ‘propior scilicet ostio templi quam avia aut sorores’; since *ἀλλὰ γάρ* is not elliptical, *θέλω* must be the principal verb, and the *καί* of *κάμαντῆς* cannot be copulative: *being at hand, and interested for my brothers, I wish to ask on my own account as well*. Wecklein (1898) puts a full-stop at *γένους*, no stop after *πρόσφορος*, and commas after *ἀδελφῶν* and *πυθέσθαι*; and substitutes *τ’ ἐμοί* for *δέ μοι* in 480. The advantages of this are obvious, but the full-stop in 479 wrongly severs *ἀλλ’...θέλω* from *οὐ ταχθεῖσα*. Murray follows Wecklein, except that in 480 he has commas after *ἀλλ’* and *πρόσφορος*, and retains *δέ μοι*.

III. Pflugk, who refuses to supply any definite word with *πρόσφορος*, must be left to justify himself in his own words. 'Ego certum vocabulum nullum subaudiendum censeo; ceterum si requiras quod ad sententiam declarandam adhibeas, intellige quasi scriptum sit *πρόσφορος τοῖς πράγμασιν*. Videlicet mascula virgo suo quodam iure in partem virilium curarum venire sibi videbatur.' For practical purposes his interpretation coincides with that of those who supply *πρεσβεύειν*.

## 2. On *v.* 533.

The doctrine that *μή* with the participle is always conditional seems to require more consideration than it usually receives<sup>1</sup>. It is of course generally recognised that it does not apply to constructions with the article, or to cases where the participle is subordinate to a verb which would itself require to be negated by *μή*. This accounts (*v.g.*) for *Hipp.* 997 *ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ πρῶτα μὲν θεοὺς σέβειν, φίλους τε χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀδικεῖν πειρωμένοις*. Further, the supplementary participle after *verba sentiendi* is occasionally negated by *μή*: *Soph. O.C.* 656 *οἶδ' ἐγὼ σε μὴ τινα ἐνθένδ' ἀπάξοντ' ἄνδρα πρὸς βίαν ἐμοῦ* is a well-known example. But such combinations are determined by the principles applicable to indirect discourse, and are irrelevant to the present issue.

If the general trend of its usage outside the participial clause be taken into consideration, there does not seem to be any reason for confining *μή* to the sphere of an implied condition. That *μή* negatives the thought and *οὐ* the fact would be generally conceded<sup>2</sup>. Thus Jebb on *Soph. O.C.* 1154 allows that *ἐδίδαξας ὡς μὴ εἰδῶτα* could mean 'you instructed me on the supposition that I knew not,' but holds at the same time that 'usage indicates that *ὡς οὐκ εἰδῶτα* would then have been preferred.' He appears to have overlooked [*Dem.*] 26. 21 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ...ἕστερον τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὡς πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ, πάλιν ἐκολάσατε*.

<sup>1</sup> The notes of Paley, Jerram and others are sufficient warrant for this statement. Since the above was printed, I have had an opportunity of consulting W. F. Gallaway's dissertation on this subject (Baltimore, 1897); but have found no reason for modifying what I had already written.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann on Viger 804.

This exception is instructive. So strong was the leaning towards the negative of fact in the classical era that it dominated almost exclusively under conditions—that is, in combination with *ὡς*—where the negative of concept would on *a priori* grounds have been expected to prevail. Thus *οὐ* is retained even after a preceding imperative. But the conceptual *μή* is not altogether ousted: in Soph. *Phil.* 935 ἀλλ' ὡς μεθήσω μῆποθ', ὦδ' ὀρᾶ πάλιw it can only be justified in the generic sense, 'ut qui nunquam *sit* omissurus.' In later Greek, as is well known, a counter movement in favour of *μή* set in, with the result that the distinction between *μή* and *οὐ* with the participle was entirely blurred (Holden on Plut. *Them.* 9, 2). The beginnings of this tendency may be traced in writers of the earlier period, but *μή* never appeared where the only relation between the participle and the governing verb was that of sequence in or coincidence of time; it always marked a dependency of conception,—causal, adversative or consecutive. The following list makes no pretence to completeness<sup>1</sup>, but contains such examples as I have collected from time to time.

The generic or characterising clause which is attached by the participle may express either a cause, an impediment or a result of the main action. Of these the causal class is by far the largest, and will be reserved until the others have been dealt with.

1. The participle expresses a result. Aesch. *Theb.* 426 τίς ἀνδρα κομπάσαντα μῆ τρέσας μενεῖ; Herod. VI 130 ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν, εἰ οἶόν τε εἶη, χαριζοίμην ἄν, μήτε ἔνα ὑμέων ἐξαιρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. Eur. fr. 196 τί δῆτ' ἐν ὄλβῳ μῆ σαφεῖ βεβηκότες οὐ ζῶμεν ὡς ἥδιστα μῆ λυπούμενοι; (Here we are concerned with the second participle = ὥστε μῆ λυπεῖσθαι: the first *μή* is causal.) Dem. 24. 171 δι' ἃ πολλῶ μάλλον ἄν εἰκότως μῆ ἐθελήσαντες ἀκοῦσαι σου θάνατον καταψηφίσαινθ' οὗτοι ἢ δι' Ἀνδροτίων' ἀφείησαν. I quote Thuc. III 16 δηλώσαι βουλόμενοι ὅτι...οἳ τέ εἰσι μῆ κινουντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπιὸν ῥαδίως ἀμύνεσθαι because some editors treat it as hypothetical, which it certainly is not, but the negative *may* be due to the dependence of the participle on the infinitive. So VIII 44

<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of Thucydides, and most of the Attic Orators (except Demosthenes), where I have made use of the recently published Indices.

ἡγούμενοι... δυνατοὶ ἔσσεσθαι, Τισσαφέρην μὴ αἰτοῦντες χρήματα, τρέφειν τὰς ναῦς. And in II 83 ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὡς μέγιστον οἰοί τ' ἦσαν μὴ δίδόντες διέκπλουν we must supply τάξασθαι with οἰοί τ' ἦσαν. In Thuc. I 38 οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι, unless ἐπεστρατεύομεν is right, μὴ must be consecutive, as Forbes takes it.

2. The participle expresses an impediment. Xen. mem. IV 8. 5 οἱ Ἀθήνησι δικασταὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη μηδὲν ἀδικούντας λόγῳ παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν. Dem. 4. 15 οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι: here Sandys would hardly have subordinated κωλύων to λέγειν, if the prejudice in favour of hypothetical μὴ had not existed. Dem. 40. 33 τοιαύτην δίκην οὗτος ἂν εἰλήφει παρ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικούντος, ἦν κ.τ.λ. Thuc. V 60 the Argives blamed the conclusion of a truce without reference to the democracy νομίζοντες κάκεῖνοι μὴ ἂν σφίσι ποτὲ κάλλιον παρασχὼν Λακεδαιμονίους διαπεφευγέναι (=though they would never have a better opportunity). The meaning is clear, but the negative may be due to the influence of νομίζω in or. obl., although of course it normally takes οὐ.

3. The participle expresses a cause. Herod. III 65 τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν... γίνεταί μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι. Soph. Phil. 169 ff. οἰκτίρω νιν ἔγωγ' ὅπως μὴ του κηδομένου βροτῶν μηδὲ σύντροφον ἄμ' ἔχων... νοσεῖ. Thuc. I 118 οἱ Ἀ. ἡσύχαζον... ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἰέναι ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοντο. IV 10 τὸν πολέμιον δεινότερον ἔξομεν μὴ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως. IV 73 ἡσύχαζον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἐπιόντων: this is a very clear case = since the enemy did not attack. Xen. Cyr. III 1. 37 σοῦ γε μηπώποτε φυγόντος ἡμᾶς, VI 3. 15 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι μηδὲν εἰδότες ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν, mem. I 6. 5 ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντι (ἀργύριον) οὐκ ἀνάγκη διαλέγεσθαι, ᾧ ἂν μὴ βούλωμαι. Antiph. tetr. A. γ. 8 μὴ δεδηλωμένων τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων. Ar. Eccl. 855. Isocr. 17. 52 ἄλλως τε καὶ μὴ παρόντος τούτου. Isae. 5. 16 ἀμφοῖν δὲ τοῖν διαθήκαιν ἀκύροιν γιγνομέναιν καὶ ἐτέρας μηδεμιᾶς ὁμολογουμένης εἶναι, κατὰ δόσιν μὲν οὐδενὶ προσῆκεν τοῦ κλήρου κ.τ.λ. Aeschin. 2. 66 λόγων μὴ προτεθέντων... οὐκ ἐνῆν εἰπεῖν. Lys. 4. 4; 19. 29. In Demosthenes I find ten instances, and to save space will simply give the references: 3. 8; 21. 97 (condemned by Goodwin in his recent edition); 23. 42; 24. 189; 33. 29; 36. 6; 39. 35; 44. 28; 46. 13; 55. 20. Most of these are cited by Wyse on Isae. l. c.,

where 40. 13 is a mistake for 46. 13. In Thuc. I 77 οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν the negative might be accounted for by the use of εἶ=στι after certain verbs of emotion, and compared with Soph. *O.T.* 289 πάλαι δὲ μὴ παρῶν θαυμάζεται. Soph. *Phil.* 1006 ᾧ μὴδὲν ὑγιᾶς μὴδ' ἐλεύθερον φρονῶν is peculiar, since the participle being part of the address stands *extra sententiam*; but the negative is clearly generic.

In many cases the true explanation is that the participle is attributive, so that a generic μὴ can stand just as if an article were added. So I should take Soph. *O.T.* 57, *O.C.* 73, but it is not always easy to draw the line between the attributive and circumstantial uses.

### 3. On 777 ff.

The Great Panathenaea were held in the month of Hecatombaeon every four years in the third Olympian year. After various musical and athletic ἀγῶνες extending over several days, the feast culminated in the celebrations of the 28th, when the procession escorting the Peplus and the great sacrifice (πολύθυτος τιμὰ) took place. The night immediately preceding this day was kept as a holy vigil: *C.I.A.* II I. p. 68 n. 163 τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοι[κούντας τ]ὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποιεῖν τὴν πα[γνυχίδα] ὡς καλλίστην τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπει[εν ἄμα ἢ] λιῶ ἀνιόντι κ.τ.λ. Part of the ceremonies of the Pannychis consisted of the chants and dances of maidens (782, 3). ὀλολύγματα are their cries expressed in ritual form—short litanies in which the girls responded to the leading recital of the priestess. Cf. *Il.* VI 301 αἱ δ' ὀλολυγῆ πάσαι Ἀθήνη χεῖρας ἀνέσχον. Through the night they prayed to the goddess, and hailed her advent as the moon appeared; for at this festival, as we shall see, Athena was worshipped as a moon-goddess. The words νέων ἀοιδαὶ refer to the κῶμος of Ephebi, who accompanied the procession of the Peplus; their songs appear to be contrasted with the elaborate performances of the cyclic chorus (χορῶν τε μολπαί, for which cf. [*Xen.*] *Ath. Pol.* III 4). Perhaps, as Mommsen (*Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 105) suggests, they were such tunes as had been familiar to them from boyhood (*Ar. Nub.* 967). Heliodorus (*Aethiop.* I 10) speaks of a paean: Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων, ὅτε τὴν ναῦν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ γῆς τῇ Ἀθηναῖ πέμπουσιν, ἐτύχανον μὲν ἐφηβείων

ἄσας δὲ τὸν εἰωθότα παιᾶνα τῇ θεῶ καὶ τὰ νενομισμένα προπομπεύσας κ.τ.λ. We may compare the κῶμος of youths who greeted the athletic victor on his return home (Bacchyl. XII 190 with Jebb's note).

The chief difficulty of our passage centres round the interpretation of *μηῶν φθινᾶς ἡμέρα* (779). Mommsen conjectures that this is to be identified with the 28th Hecatombæon, which was regarded as the birthday of Athena. ἡ φθινᾶς ἡμέρα is, then, *the day of the waning moon*, i.e. the day on which the sickle-shaped moon last appears immediately before sunrise. Cf. Schol. on *Il.* VIII 39 *Τριτογένεια ἐκλήθη ὅτι τρίτη φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη*, Proclus on *Tim.* p. 9 τὰ γὰρ μέγαλα (*sc.* Παναθήναια) τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐγένετο τρίτη ἀπίοντος, Schol. on Plat. *rep.* 327 A. There is however some evidence which cannot easily be reconciled with this. Hesych. *s.v.* φθινᾶς ἡμέρα has the corrupt gloss: τὴν ἰσταμένου τρίτην τριμήμιον λέγει. It is probable that *τριτομηνίδα* is concealed here, for this word is explained by Harpocration as follows: τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηνίδα ἐκάλου. δοκεῖ δὲ γενέθλιος τῆς Ἀθηναίας. Ἴστρος (*fr.* 26. *F.H.G.* I p. 422) δὲ καὶ τριτογένειαν αὐτὴν φησι διὰ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν Σελήνην νομιζομένην. Similarly Phot. Suid. Etym. M. etc. There is thus a double tradition concerning the date of Athena's birthday, and it has been suggested that Istros (*c.* 230 B.C.), or someone who copied from him, may have altered the older legend with the idea that it was unreasonable to assign the birth of the moon-goddess to a day when her crescent disappears in the morning-twilight (*Gruppe Griech. Mythologie* p. 1219<sup>3</sup>).

It is right to mention the interpretation of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Hermes* XVII p. 356 f.), who holds that a monthly festival is meant and that Athena is not referred to at all. He lays stress on *μάτηρ* (771), which he takes as an appeal (*qu.* *μάτηρ*), and thinks that it could not have been applied to the virgin goddess. But *μήτηρ* is employed with great freedom in the metaphorical sense (see a strong instance in *Tro.* 1222); and it is hard to believe that the appeal in 770 ff. is addressed to anyone but Pallas. However, Wilamowitz believes that Demeter Thesmophorus is meant, and relies on the legend that Erichthonius was the son of Earth and consecrated an altar to her (*Suidas s.v.* *κουροτρόφος*).

## 4. On v. 1015.

This difficult line has puzzled all the editors, and the meaning is still in doubt.

The word *προστρόπαιος* appears to mean (1) properly, one who having shed blood appeals to the god for purification—a *suppliant*; (2) by a natural extension, one guilty of bloodshed—a *sinner*; (3) by transference to other persons or things connected with blood-guiltiness—*guilt-conveying*, as in *Ion* 1260 *κἄν θάνης γὰρ ἐνθάδ' οὔσα, τοῖς ἀποκτείνασί σε προστρόπαιον αἷμα θήσεις*, Antiph. *tetr.* B. δ. 9 *ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίας φέρων οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν προστρόπαιον καταλείψει*; (4) by a special application of the last meaning, *dealing with blood-guiltiness by way of vengeance*, either indirectly, when used of the murdered man, as in Antiph. *tetr.* A. γ. 10 *ἡμῖν μὲν προστρόπαιος ὁ ἀποθανὼν οὐκ ἔσται, ὑμῖν δὲ ἐνθύμιος γενήσεται*<sup>1</sup>, or directly when employed as an attribute of his avenging spirit, as in Antiph. *tetr.* Γ. α. 4 *τῷ μὲν ἀποθανόντι οὐ τιμωροῦντες δεινοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ἔξομεν τοὺς τῶν ἀποθανόντων προστροπαίους*, *tetr.* Γ. β. 8 *τοῦ μὴ διδάξαντος καὶ οὐχ ὑμέτερον τὸν προστρόπαιον τοῦ ἀποθανόντος καταστήσω*. In Aesch. *Cho.* 286 *ἐκ προστροπαίων ἐν γένει πεπτωκότων* it is not certain whether the word is masculine or neuter. I think it can hardly be doubted that the last meaning is that which is most appropriate to our passage, and to Paley, so far as I can ascertain, belongs the credit of having been the first so to interpret it.

If then *προστρόπαιος* in the sense of *avenger* adequately expresses the relation in which Eurystheus will hereafter stand to the Heraclidae, what are we to make of *τόν τε γενναῖον*? Now, it must be observed that the Athenians will be in a delicate position, if Eurystheus is put to death without more ado. Although not his actual captors, they have been instrumental in effecting his capture; and, if they are not able to rescue him from death, it is difficult

<sup>1</sup> This passage determines the point which Tucker (on *Cho.* 286) leaves doubtful. *προστρόπαιος* here is identical in meaning with *προστρεπομένου τὴν πάθην* in Plat. *legg.* 866 B. Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>3</sup> p. 264, adds Etym. M. 42, 7 *Ἡριγόνην ... ἀναρτήσασαν ἑαυτὴν προστρόπαιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι*.



to see how they can avoid the pollution (*μίασμα*)<sup>1</sup> which was so far-reaching in its consequences that it would attach even to the jurors who gave an unjust verdict in a case of homicide (*Antiph. tetv. Γ. δ. 10, cf. 559*). The concluding words of the play show the sensitiveness of the Chorus on this score, and their anxiety to avoid any possible danger proceeding from their own action. The only means of escape open to the Athenians in general was for the prospective victim to absolve them from any of the consequences involved in his death (*Dem. 37. 59 ἄν ὁ παθὼν αὐτὸς ἀφῆ τοῦ φόνου, πρὶν τελευτῆσαι, τὸν δράσαντα... ἅπαξ ἀπάντων ἐκλύει τῶν δεινῶν τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα*). That Eurystheus, while expecting to receive honour as a hero at their hands, actually does absolve Athens is plain from the context (1012 f., 1032 f.); and it is suggested that this gracious act is indicated by the word *γενναῖος*, which the Athenians might aptly use of him in recognition of his goodwill. That *γενναῖος* was a *vox propria* in such a case I am not in a position to prove, but it is perhaps significant that when Hippolytus voluntarily releases Theseus from any stain of blood—an exactly parallel situation—the same word is used in acknowledgement of his generosity: see *Hipp.*

1448—1452

Θη. ἦ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναγνον ἐκλιπῶν χέρα;

Ἰπ. οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ σε τοῦδ' ἐλευθερῶ φόνου.

Θη. τί φῆς; ἀφίης αἵματός μ' ἐλεύθερον;

Ἰπ. τὴν τοξόδαμνον Ἄρτεμιν μαρτύρομαι.

Θη. ᾧ φίλταθ', ὡς γενναῖος ἐκφαίνῃ πατρί.

It remains to notice the views of previous editors.

I. Those who attempt to explain the text may be classed as follows:—

1. Paley, interpreting *προστρόπαιον* as above, sees in *γενναῖον* a description of the courage shown by the speaker in facing death. But the sense 'you must acknowledge my bravery, however vindictive I may prove' is very unsatisfactory.

2. Barnes and Elmsley explain *προστρόπαιον* as *suppliant*, but differ as to *γενναῖον*; the former makes it mean *innocent* ('*veteri innocentiae quasi restitutus*'), and the latter '*timidum (per ironiam)*.' Both of these views seem impossible.

<sup>1</sup> The *μίασμα* of the murderer corresponds to the *προστρόπαιος* of the murdered man (*Pausan. II 18. 2*).

3. Pflugk treats τε as = *uel*: 'you may call me either a *sinner* or a *brave man*.' If this is the meaning, the words are singularly ill-chosen.

II. Many think that the text is corrupt. The earliest suspicion came from Musgrave, who proposed τὸν τ' Ἀγώνιον. Hartung took another line, substituting κτανεῖν for καλεῖν. This was adopted in the Bauer-Wecklein edition (1885): *i.e.*, if you kill me, you will kill one who is under the protection of the gods, and whose purpose was noble, and so make yourself guilty of impiety and baseness. But in 1898 Wecklein proposed οὐ παλαμναῖον by way of improvement on τὸν παλαμναῖον, which had been suggested by Kirchhoff. Herwerden attempted, by reading τὸν τε γύννιν ἀποκαλεῖν, to restore the sense which Elmsley sought to elicit from the text.

## APPENDIX C.

### THE CHORIC METRES.

It is now established that the choral parts of tragedy were written continuously by their first transcribers, being in no way distinguished from prose. The colometry of our MSS., including such texts as the Bacchylides papyrus, is due to the labours of the Alexandrian grammarians; and to what extent they were guided by tradition we have no means of ascertaining. Apart from the evidence afforded by the MSS., modern scholars have to rely on the assistance of such metrical treatises as have been preserved: most valuable, but regrettably scanty, are the fragments of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, a pupil of Aristotle; next in order is the compendium of Hephaestion of Alexandria, who belonged to the age of the Antonines. Unfortunately, the external evidence is entirely insufficient to support a firm conclusion on the correct division into cola and feet of most lyrical metres, or on the time-ratios of the 'mixed' systems; and on these points there has been a great diversity of opinion in recent times. Thus, while it is seldom difficult in a survey of any particular ode to form a correct impression of its metrical character, the scansion even of such well known cola as the Glyconic is quite uncertain, and in the less familiar combinations it is often impossible to determine with certainty the cola themselves.

*vv.* 73—110.

The metre of the parodos is mainly dochmiac, the basis of which is the dochmius  $\sim - - \sim -$ ; either pure, as in 87; with the first long syllable resolved  $\sim \sim \sim - -$ , as in 75; with the two first long syllables resolved  $\sim \sim \sim \sim - -$ , as in 96; or with the second short syllable irrational  $\sim - - > -$ , as in 83. Combined with the

dochmiacs are iambic elements, as is often the case. Besides the ordinary iambic trimeters, we have iambic pentapodies in 81 = 102 ; and in 91, where the antistrophic verse is lost, we have a dochmiac preceded by an iambic monometer. For this combination cf. Soph. *Ai.* 396, *Phil.* 400. It should, however, be observed that the MSS. make *v.* 90 end with  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , in which case,  $\pi\omicron\tau'$  *ἐν χειρὶ σῶ* forms a dochmiac.

In J. H. H. Schmidt's analysis the passage is not treated as antistrophic, but divided into seven short dochmiac commata. Three introductory lines (81, 90, 102) he scanned as trochaic pentapodies catalectic with anacrusis. This view should be rejected, as it fails to recognise the lacunae in the text, the existence of which is unquestionable.

*vv.* 353—380.

The strophe opens in Ionic (choriambic) measure thus:—

$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \end{array}$

This is followed by a series of Glyconics, and similar combinations will be found in *H. F.* 637 ff., and *Hipp.* 732 ff. The first verse (*vv.* 353, 4) is a choriambic tetrameter catalectic. Hephaestion c. 9. p. 52 G. quotes Sappho (fr. 60) :—

*δεῦτέ νυν, ἄβραι Χάριτες, καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι.*

Such a line is called the *greater Sapphic*, and is adapted by Horace in *od.* 18 with a lengthening of the third syllable. The final clause  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$  occurs elsewhere at the close of an Ionic period (*Alc.* 910, *Aesch. Ag.* 451). Observe how this phrase is echoed in the last line of the ode. There is also a reminder of the Ionic opening in *v.* 373, which should perhaps be scanned  $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ .

If the lines are divided as printed in the text, *vv.* 358—360 (=367—369), 371, 372, 374, 375 are Glyconic dimeters of the type:—

$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} | \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$

This is called the second Glyconic, because the apparent dactyl stands in what used to be considered the second foot. Metricians are still at issue on the question of the subdivision of such cola ; and there is at present a strong reaction against the method of scansion

made familiar to English students from the Metrical Analyses in Jebb's *Sophocles*. A full discussion of the subject will be found in Goodell's *Chapters on Greek Metric* pp. 212—244, who adopts a conservative attitude. The other view is conveniently summarised by Gleditsch in Mueller's *Handbuch* vol. II, abt. 3, p. 173 ff. (ed. 3, 1901).

v. 361 (= 370) and v. 376, if *ἐστὶν* is omitted with many editors, are Pherecratics, *i.e.* logaoedic dimeters with catalexis of the second metron:—

— — — — | — — . —  
 — — — — | — — . —

v. 377—379 are a variation of Glyconics, not uncommon and sometimes called the logaoedic paroemiac:—

— — — — | — — — —

But it is worth observing that, if the last syllables of v. 376—379, with *ἐστὶν* retained in the first line, are attached to the lines next following, we have a series of second Glyconics concluding, as is usual, with a Pherecratic.

v. 608—629.

The scansion of this dactylic ode presents no difficulty. There are very few spondees, and these only at the end of a verse or period. The lengthening of the last syllable of *βαρύποτμον* apparently within the period has given rise to suspicion: Murray suggests *φῶτα* for *ἄνδρα* in 609. The absence of synaphea shows that a new period begins at 610. v. 617 is probably a tetrapody with *μακρὰ τετράσημος*:—

— — — — — — — — — — Λ

v. 748—783.

The metre is logaoedic, with iambic and dactylic phrases interspersed. Its general character is simple, and, when read aloud, the rhythmical movement will be easily followed.

In the first strophe v. 748, 749, 752, 753, 755, 756 are second Glyconics:—

— — — — | — — — —

Note the variation of stress on *μέλλω* in two successive lines (755 f.), and cf. *καλλίστα* in *H. F.* 647. For v. 750 and 757 we have

to choose between  $\Lambda \cup \cup - | \cup \cup - -$  and  $\cup \cup \sqcup | \cup \cup - -$ . *v.* 751 (cf. 774) is the enhoplus (or prosodiacus), which has played a prominent part in recent metrical discussions. If we follow Blass, it will be scanned  $- \cup \cup - | \cup \cup - -$ . It should be noticed that the livelier rhythm of these lines prepares the way for the longer succession of dactyls in the second strophe. *v.* 754 (*Γλυκῶνειον ἀκέφαλον*) ends a period and has catalexis in its concluding syllables:—

≅ - - - - . -

*v.* 758 is a logaoedic trimeter with catalexis. It is known as *Φαλαίκειον ἐνδεκασύλλαβον*, and was often employed by Sappho and Anacreon. Cf. *Suppl.* 962, *Soph. Aἰ.* 633:—

≅ - - - | - - - - | - - . -

The second strophe opens with three Glyconics of the same type as before. *vv.* 772 and 776 present the combination of an iambic dipody followed by an Ithyphallic  $- \cup - \cup - -$ . There is the same conclusion to a period in *Suppl.* 785, and elsewhere. The slowly-sinking cadence of the conclusion is fitly preceded by the livelier dactylic movement of *vv.* 774 f.

### *vv.* 892—927.

The prevailing character of the metre is logaoedic, with Glyconic and Pherecratic cola. But the proper distribution of the metrical units is not always clear.

The first strophe opens with an iambic trimeter catalectic. In *v.* 893, if the stop-gap *εἰνὶ δαιτὶ* is provisionally accepted, corresponding either to *τόδ' ἀφέλεσθαι* or *τοῦδ' ἀφέσθαι* in 902, we have a logaoedic paroemiac (as in 377). If the double dactyl is admitted, it gives one of the forms of the enhoplus. *v.* 894 is a second Glyconic, and 895 is probably parallel to 893.

*v.* 896 f. are Pherecratics. *v.* 898 was scanned by Schmidt  $- \cup \sqcup - - \Lambda$ , an arrangement which few will accept. If *πολλὰ γὰρ*, corresponding to *θεὸς παραγ-* in 907, is taken as a single cretic, *i.e.* as forming a metrical unit by itself (cf. *H. F.* 792: Wilamowitz II, p. 167), the system closes naturally with a Priapeus, *i.e.* a Glyconic together with a Pherecratic.

Strophe *β'* 910—913 = 919—922. With the traditional cola, we have a first Glyconic followed by two logaoedic paroemiacs and

a Pherecratic. By transferring the last syllables of the three first lines to the succeeding line, Murray obtains a regular succession of Glyconics.

*vv.* 914—916 are logaoedic paroemiacs.

*v.* 917 could be scanned as a Pherecratic, followed by a logaoedic paroemiac; but this is a very unusual ending, and it seems better to treat the first syllable of *παῖδας* (*ψυχά*) as belonging to the first colon, which thus becomes a first Glyconic with an irrational long syllable in the second metron. For this Gleditsch quotes *Hipp.* 741 and *Soph. Phil.* 1151. Thus the closing rhythm is:—

$$\begin{array}{c} - - - - | - - > - \\ - - - - | - - . - \end{array}$$

One of the inferences which have been established from the Bacchylides papyrus is that the Alexandrian metricians limited as far as possible the division of a word between two verses, probably from a regard for calligraphy.





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